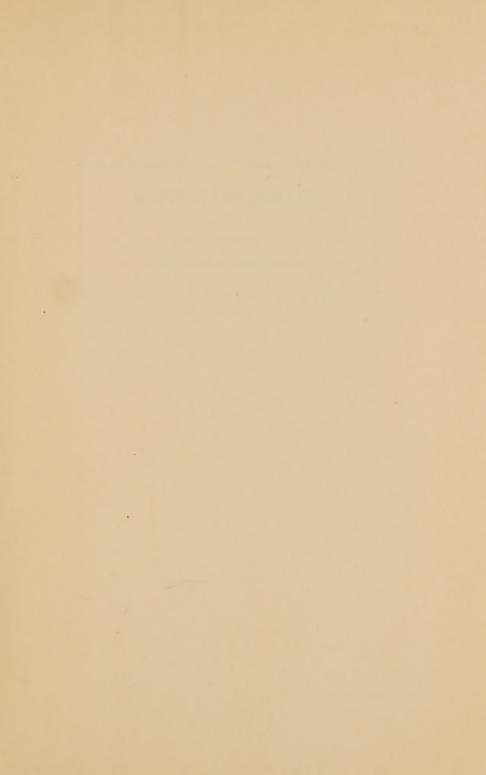




BX8248 .P4P17



Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2024 with funding from Princeton Theological Seminary Library





## HEROISM AND ROMANCE

EARLY METHODISM IN
NORTHEASTERN PENNSYLAVANIA

Copyright, 1950 By Louis DeForest Palmer

Engel-Truitt Press Saylorsburg, Pennsylvania





# Heroism and Romance

EARLY METHODISM IN

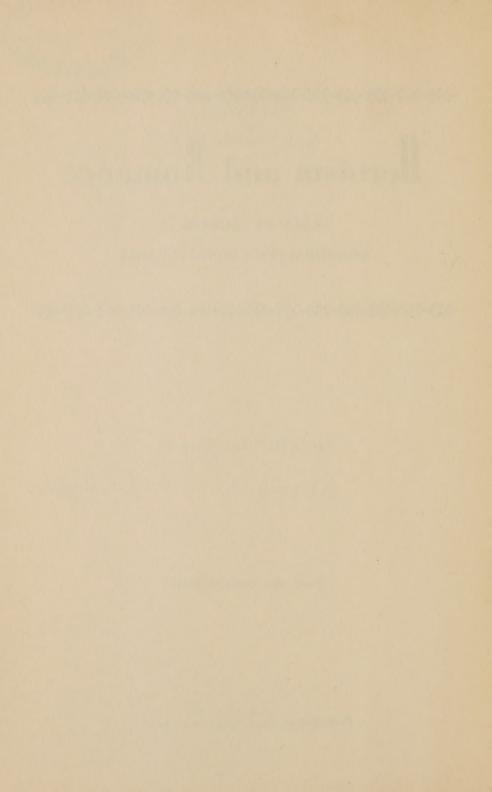
NORTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA



by

Louis DeForest Palmer

Haeck olim meminisce juvabit



## Dedication

This book is dedicated to my wife, Sarah Lewis Palmer, whose encouragement and assistance have made it possible. Also, to Anning Owen, William Colbert and the other pioneer preachers and laymen who have made the church of today possible.



## Foreword



In these parlous days it is well for us to contemplate the toils, sacrifices and triumphs of men and women of another period in order that we may derive the incentives so needful for this present age. What were the conditions that hedged them about, what their limitations and what their achievements? Time's thievery is at greatest fault when it robs us of an awareness of the forgotten men and women of yesterday whose valorous living has made us their debtors for evermore.

After a fairly exhaustive search for material on the chosen theme certain problems faced the author who acknowledges that the solutions at which he arrived may not receive universal approval. Some critics may feel that the material is not well organized, or is not presented in proper proportions. Some may hold that there is too long a foreground in the "Background." It is needless to go far into the line of reasoning by which it was decided to elaborate so extensively on the details that lead up to the main presentation. The course pursued was prompted by the fact that Methodism in Northeastern Pennsylvania issued from the white heat of the Battle of Wyoming, and the other fact that that Battle was not an isolated incident in American annals but was cognate with the other conflicts and conditions that obtained in the period immediately preceding. As to the beginnings of Methodism in this area, it was felt they did not constitute an isolated movement but were definitely related to the development of Methodism in general as well as to the contemporary and antecedent activities of other church groups. It may be remarked that though the book deals primarily with Methodism it is not with the thought of glorifying this form of religious expression to the disparagement of any other but rather to use it as illustrative of what transpired among various groups and of the reactions of the pioneers to an aggressive religious program in a period when life in America was primitive.

There may be those who will consider that too much space has been allowed in the presentation of William Colbert. However, the conspicuous service he rendered deserves conspicuous attention in order that his work may be fairly appraised. It is to his credit not only that he left more personal records than any others of his contemporaries, but also that he rendered a larger and longer service than any of them. His rounds of labor may seem to be a ritual but they represent his life as he lived it. Many of his texts are mentioned partly because

he recorded them in his Journal, but also because in themselves they present a study.

Whenever data could be found for the purpose sketches of ministers and laymen have been included with the conviction that these are essential in order that we may approximate the total picture of the personnel of the early days. No matter for how brief or how long a period a participant appeared upon the scene, he was a personage whose past and whose future may appropriately become a part of our knowledge of the what and the why of the movement known as Methodism. Whence came these men and what became of them? How was it possible for the movement to go on with acceleration when the very persons who were set to propagate it were so ill conditioned and so meteoric in their careers? Surely some greater power and purpose were back of it all than that which involves merely the human element. Can it be that that power and that purpose had in mind peoples such as we are of today? Have the lives of the men and women of the early years no meaning for us? Have we no relation to them? Is there no significance in all this? Truly there is a relevance in what they were and what they did both to us and to the generations that are to be.



# Acknowledgments



No book is the product of one mind or heart. No writer can ever know how many other persons have contributed, directly or indirectly, to what he has written. It would be impolitic, if not invidious, to attempt the making of a list of those helpers whom he can identify, as some have shared more than others in what he has achieved. Surely nothing of this sort could eventuate without the collaboration of personal friends and of others who have proved themselves friendly. To individuals and libraries whose books and other facilities have been at my disposal I have a profound sense of indebtedness.

There are three persons in particular whose names I gladly mention with appreciation. The first of these is the late Dr. Alexander C. Flick, formerly of the Department of History, Syracuse University, and later Historian of the State of New York, able teacher, versatile author and valued friend. He was one of the rare men who make history vital and relate it to life. He it was who many years ago suggested a field of study that might yield material for a thesis to be offered for a postgraduate degree. So fascinating did the study prove, and so far afield did it intice me that no thesis was concluded within the time to which such projects are limited. Instead there is this book.

The two other men for whom I entertain a sense of peculiar obligation are, respectively, Dr. Nelson M. Blake, Associate Professor, Department of History, Syracuse University, and Dr. LeRoy Jennings Koehler, Head of the Social Studies Department, State Teachers College, East Stroudsburg, Pa. These gentlemen not only graciously read the manuscript of "Heroism and Romance," but especially gave constructive criticisms by which the book has been brought forward. They are hereby freely absolved from responsibility for whatever defects the succeeding pages may reveal.

Louis DeForest Palmer

Stroudsburg, Pa., October One, 1950



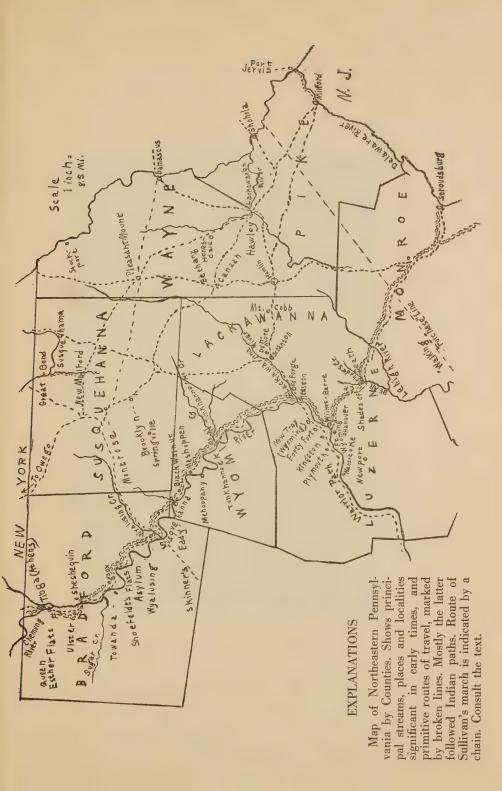
## CONTENTS

I.	THE BACKGROUND	1
II.	PRELIMINARY RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS	35
III.	METHODIST BEGINNINGS IN WYOMING	59
IV.	SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS	83
V.	At the Turn of the Century	113
VI.	Expansion	137
VII.	Last Years in Philadelphia Conference.	163
VIII.	MIDDLE PERIOD IN GENESEE CONFERENCE.	190
IX.	FINAL YEARS IN GENESEE CONFERENCE.	213
	References and Notes	232
	Index	244

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

THE AUTHOR		Frontispiece		
Wyoming Monument	Facing	Page	16	
OLD SHIP ZION	66	66	144	
FORTY FORT CHURCH	46	66	160	
Brooklyn Barn		46	176	
George Peck, D.D.	66	66	102	









THE AUTHOR



# 1. The Background

#### WYOMING DEFINED AND DESCRIBED

The beautiful name "Wyoming" is a corruption of an Indian word that appears to have been "Maughwauwame," or, "Maughwauwama." The former is said to have been formed from the two words "maughwau," meaning large or broad, and "wame," meaning plains. In combination the words signify broad plains. The Moravian Heckewelder<sup>2</sup> states that the Delawares used the word "M'chwewormink," conveying the same idea. Johnson<sup>3</sup> notes that the various tribes had different names for Wyoming, and mentions "Mee-ha-yo-my" as appearing in some of the old records. Both the Moravians and the early settlers found difficulty with the native dialects. In the process of its evolution the name occurred severally as Maughwauwame, Wauwaumie, Majomick, Wyomink and Wiomic, until finally it became crystalized in its modern form.

Though Maughwauwame fittingly describes the valley, the word was applied among the natives specifically to a local village they had established down the Susquehanna less than a mile below the Market street bridge, Wilkes-Barre. When some of the first migrants came from Connecticut in 1769, long before the name of Wilkes-Barre had been compounded or even conceived, they settled in the immediate vicinity of what later became the site of that city, but which to them was simply Wyoming. Here the settlers erected Fort Wyoming<sup>4</sup> and here General Sullivan's army encamped early in the summer of 1779, as is definitely established by his orders and the journals<sup>5</sup> of several of his officers. They clearly described Wyoming as being on the east side of the Susquehanna.

Many Indians as well as many settlers employed the word<sup>6</sup> "Wyoming" loosely as inclusive of all of Northeastern Pennsylvania. It is in this sense rather generally that the term will be used in the present discussion of "Heroism and Romance—Early Methodism in Northeastern Pennsylvania," excepting in definite instances. Not until 1885 was the name localized officially, when it was adopted as the designation of a borough<sup>7</sup> that was incorporated on the west side of the Susquehanna, some ten miles north from the original Wyoming. From as early as 1807 the place had been known as New Troy, as defined in a grant from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to Jacob Bedford.

Northeastern Pennsylvania<sup>8</sup> as here treated comprehends that part of the Commonwealth that lies within the fan-shaped area beginning at the lower end of the Wyoming Valley and spreading out northeasterly to the Delaware river,

as well as north and northwesterly to the state line. Taking the counties as they are now constituted, it embraces all of Susquehanna, Wayne and Lackawanna; all of Pike excepting the part that slopes southeasterly to the Delaware; all of Wyoming, excepting the southwestern corner; that part of Bradford along the Susquehanna and eastward; and such townships in Luzerne as include Plymouth, Jackson, Lehman and Lake on the west and Newport, Hanover, Fairview, Bear Creek and Buck on the south.

This section of the state is characterized by mountain peaks and ridges which reach altitudes up to 2,800 feet above sea level. Draining the region are unnumbered streams whose beds are 500 feet and upwards above the level of the sea. Water is furnished by extensive swamps and countless lakes, the swamps and lakes often ranging from 1,200 to 1,800 feet in altitude. One swamp is especially noteworthy. As of today it appears rather as a series of swamps extending from the southern section of Wayne county across lower Lackawanna to the headwaters of the Lehigh river in Luzerne. Sometimes termed the "Twelve-mile Swamp," it is more accurately mentioned as the "Great Swamp." In the earliest days dense forests covered the entire region. Even today much timber is to be found, especially oak, pine, hemlock and beech.

The pivotal point from which the territory radiates is the Wyoming Valley, the low-lying lands, three or four miles in width, flanking each side of the North Branch of the Susquehanna river and extending some twenty miles from the northeasterly end near Pittston to West Nanticoke and Glen Lyon at the other extreme. This valley is walled on either side, the mountains rising 1,000 feet above the basin on the east and 800 feet on the west. The Susquehanna river breaks through the mountain range from the northwest into the upper end of the valley and emerges at the southwest where the river is nearly choked between the Penobscot and Shickshinny mountains. A much smaller river, the Lackawanna, approaching from the northeastern uplands, discharges its waters into the Susquehanna near the point where the latter bends after coming through the break in the mountains. Not far from the junction of the two streams and rising 800 feet above them Campbell's Ledge lifts its bold promonotory whose precipitous declivity has figured in poetry<sup>11</sup> and Indian legend.<sup>12</sup>

#### THE ABORIGINES

According to tradition the Iroquois<sup>13</sup> and the Delawares migrated eastward from beyond the Mississippi hundreds of years before any white people had settled in Pennsylvania. The former made their headquarters in Central New York, though they held sway over other red men as far as to southern Pennsylvania and as far west as to the Great Lakes. Their "Long House" was not only a place for holding councils but was also a name by which their territory

was designated. Their council fire was in Onondaga Valley, just south of Syracuse, N. Y., and was presided over by the Onondagas who were the chief councillors and the guardians of the fire. To the east of the Onondagas were the Oneidas, and east of them the Mohawks. The Senecas were on the west and the Cayugas on the south. These five rather distinct tribes of Indians constituted the group known as the Iroquois, but were often referred to as the Five Nations. In course of time the Tuscororas, a less warlike tribe, were absorbed. Thereafter the title of the Six Nations came into use. Several other tribes were also subdued, including the Narragansetts and the Mohegans in the east, (both being of Algonquin<sup>15</sup> stock), the Hurons and the Eries on the Great Lakes, and the Cherokees in the south. At various times as suited their interests the Iroquois made alliances with the Dutch along the Hudson, with the French against the English, with the English against the French, and with the English against the colonists. Thus this powerful combination demonstrated not only their prowess as warriors but also their genius in political intrigue.

More immediately involved in the background of any history of Northeastern Pennsylvania was the race of Indians known to the white man as the Delawares, 16 a name of which their language has no trace. They were so called because when the whites were first introduced to them they inhabited the regions along the upper reaches of the Delaware river, especially in the vicinity of the place where New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania come together. This river derives its name from Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, 17 who was the first colonial governor of Virginia, holding that office early in the seventeenth century. Because of ill health he attempted to sail to the West Indies but was driven by a storm into the river that perpetuates his name. In their own tongue these Indians bore the name of Lenape, which often was intensified by the longer title, Lenni Lenape. 18 This was really a boastful designation expressive of their claim to being the "original people," and implying that as a distinct race of Indians they dated back to antiquity. They insisted that they were of pure stock, although they evidently were related to the Algonquins. Like the Algonquins they were not a warlike people. Of the Lenapes there were three main divisions. 19 The most numerous and aggressive of these were the Minsi (Munsey, Monsey, etc.), whose emblem was the wolf. Their earliest habitat was along the river between Delaware Water Gap and Damascus. By a corruption of the name of this tribe the area in which they lived was called the Minisink, or the Minisinks. At an early date two other clans of the Delawares dwelt in northern New Jersey, namely: the Unami (Wanamese), or the Turtle tribe, and the Unalachto (Unalachtigo), or Turkey tribe. Between the Unamis and the Unalachtos on the one hand and the Iroquois on the other the Minsis served as a buffer.

The earliest known Indians in the Wyoming Valley were the Susquehannocks $^{20}$ 

who were denationalized by the Iroquois, trained in the ways of their conquerors by being placed for a time among the Oneidas, and then returned to the Valley. Ultimately, however, the Susquehannocks became extinct, their lands having been confiscated and settled with other tribes by the Iroquois whose policy was to establish in this region vassals who would serve as a barrier to protect them against the hostile Indians from the South. Indeed, the very considerable nation of the Delawares was subjugated by the Iroquois who regulated their places of habitation and denied them such fundamental rights as those of engaging in war and of making treaties without the consent of their masters. After they had sold certain lands to the Yankees the sale was repudiated at the Great Council of 1768, aggravating one of the longest and most bitter struggles in American annals, the Yankee-Pennamite War.

In the second third of the eighteenth century many changes took place in the geographical disposition of the Indians occupying Northeastern Pennsylvania. The Shawanese<sup>21</sup> (Shawnees), having been driven out of Florida by the Spaniards, and having come into the region under discussion, tarried for short periods in various localities, but ultimately, in 1737, came into the Wyoming Valley where they were under the "protection" of the Iroquois whom they in turn shielded. The Shawanese, however, were obliged to settle on the west side of the Susquehanna where they established the village of Shawnee (Plymouth). This was under the duress of the Delawares who already had set up the village of Maughwauwame in the bend of the river on the opposite side and whose chief was Tadema, or Tatame. Of the Shawanese there may have been 200 warriors<sup>22</sup> as compared with 300 of the Delawares.<sup>23</sup> These latter belonged to the Unalachto clan. The Unami clan dwelt north of Wilkes-Barre at Plains. which in early times was known as "the Plains" and still earlier as "Jacob's Plains." The name was in recognition of their chief who under the influence of missionaries had taken the name of Jacob. The Minsis had a village at the junction of the Lackawanna and Susquehanna rivers, where the famous chief Teedyuscung, (Tedyuscung, Tedeusking, Tedeuskund,) ruled at Asserughnev.<sup>24</sup> They also had an important village in the northern part of the present Scranton, where Capoose was the chief over a village that bore his name. On the west side of the Susquehanna just above Forty Fort was Abraham's Plains, named for Chief Abraham, of the Mohicans, who came here in 1742. This tribe was probably a branch of the Mohegans and related to the Delawares by being of the common stock of the Algonquins. Nanticokes under the chief Ullanckquam, alias Robert White, located at the lower end of the Valley near the present site of Nanticoke, later moving up the Valley a short distance. Ultimately there was a chain of Indian villages along the Susquehanna from Sunbury to Tioga, as well as overland from Tioga to the heart of the Iroquois country.

#### PRIMITIVE ROUTES OF TRAVEL

The pioneers who came to Northeastern Pennsylvania appropriated routes which they found ready at hand, the paths<sup>25</sup> which, however crude, had through long use been worn by the aborigines sometimes to a depth of one to two feet. These paths were many and ran in divergent directions, the chief ones being War, or Warrior Paths. Some of these trails were along valley streams and were easier for travel. Many were along the high ridges, allowing the approach of enemies to be more readily detected, and making signal fires more visible. In other instances the paths cut athwart the valleys and mountains for the purpose of shortening distances. It was natural that some of these passages should be followed by the early eighteenth century traders<sup>26</sup> who came into the wilderness to barter with the Indians for skins in exchange for rum. It was also natural that such routes should be taken a little later by the homeseekers<sup>27</sup> from the East, who came in quest of cheaper lands and more expansive living room.

One of the most prominent of the primitive routes was the Great Warrior Path,<sup>28</sup> extending from the Iroquois country in the north to distant points in the south. It entered the region by way of Diahoga, or Tioga (Athens), crossed the Chemung to Queen Esther's Flats, and continued down the west side of the Susquehanna as far as Old Sheshequin (Ulster), where it passed to the east side of this river and continued on down through Sunbury (the original Shamokin). This path evidently maintained its course generally on the east side of the Susquehanna, though often departing from the river itself and passing over the high lands so as to cut off the greater distance that would be required in following the crooked stream. This trail was used by the natives in attending the Great Councils held in the Long House in the Finger Lakes region.

Many other routes intersected or diverged from the Great Warrior Path. The Minisink path led southeasterly from Diahoga to the Minisink country which was adjacent to the upper Delaware river. The Wyalusing path approached the Susquehanna from the southwest, crossed that river by a ford just below M'chiwihilusing (Wyalusing), passed along the creek of the same name, and then along the Apalachin, ultimately arriving at Zeninge, or Chenango (Binghamton). Another trail<sup>29</sup> followed the general direction of the North Branch of the Tunkhannock creek and had the Great Bend<sup>30</sup> as one of its northern objectives.

Several paths<sup>31</sup> radiated from the Wyoming Valley. One of these came up from the Lehigh Gap, Ft. Allen (Allentown), followed the Lehigh in part, and entered the Valley by way of Hanover. Another ran from Easton by way of the Wind Gap, Tannersville and Bear Creek, coming over the mountains and through Olivers Mills. This last was the main route taken by the Penn people to and from

Wyoming, and was also the line followed by the Sullivan expedition against the Indians. Merging with this path was another that came by way of the Delaware Water Gap and Stroudsburg. To a limited extent early New Englanders pursued some of these routes. Especially did the trail<sup>32</sup> through Bear Creek to Stroudsburg serve as one of the chief exits from the Valley during the Indian troubles and after the Battle of Wyoming.

By all odds the greatest number of settlers from Connecticut came into Wyoming by a route which in reverse began at the upper end of the Valley at the Indian village of Asserughney<sup>33</sup> where the Lackawanna empties into the Susquehanna, and continued northerly, first on the east and then on the west side of the Lackawanna, to Capoose,<sup>34</sup> a village named for a Munsey or Minsi chief, located near Scranton's Weston Field. From this point the course was through Dunmore<sup>35</sup> and over Cobb's Mountain, an eminence that took its name from Asa Cobb, who settled on its easterly side in 1784, and who was later succeeded by his son John. Their cabin was at the foot of one of the steeper parts of the mountain and was on the usual route of travel taken by the Connecticut people. This was at one time the only habitation between a solitary cabin in Dunmore and the Little Meadows sixteen miles to the east. Just as the Indians were wont to light signal fires on the top of the mountains, so the immigrants' vanguard<sup>36</sup> built beacon fires as a guide to those who followed after them and as a token that travel would be safe.

Little Meadows was at the northern end of the Great Swamp<sup>37</sup> and was a couple of miles easterly from Hamlin which in early times was recognized as Salem. Here was the first settlement<sup>38</sup> west of the Delaware, excepting one lone house half a dozen miles farther to the east. Little Meadows was not swamp land but had a rich growth of grass on account of which it was prized by the Yankee travelers as a good stopping place for their live stock. It was an oasis of a sort in the midst of a vast forest which, because of the predominance of beech trees, was known as the Beech Woods, or, the Big Beech Woods. The grassed area bore the additional name of Beaver Meadows, for the reason that, as in so many other instances, beavers were the indirect cause of the local conditions. In this case some of these remarkable creatures had in previous times built two dams some distance from each other on Spring Brook. The dams caused the area to be flooded, which in turn destroyed the trees. After the woods disappeared grass took root and grew luxuriantly though rank.

There were at least three different routes<sup>39</sup> within Pennsylvania by which the pioneers approached Little Meadows from the east. The most northerly of these entered the Province in the vicinity of Damascus, where anciently stood the Indian village of Cushutunk, crossing the Delaware at a ford from the present Cochecton, N. Y., a place whose name is the anglicized form of the word Cushutunk, which both designated a tribe and the place where they lived.

Here some New Englanders<sup>40</sup> settled as early as 1757. From this point the route followed the Indian path sixteen or eighteen miles and crossed the Lackawaxen river east of Hawley. Taking the east side of the Wallenpaupack creek, the path crossed to the west side of that stream some eight miles above Hawley, and then continued on to Little Meadows. The point of crossing was at a place variously called Lackawa,<sup>41</sup> Lackaway and Lackawack but later known as Paupack. It is in this area that the Wallenpaupack Reservoir is located, having appropriated the creek of that name and the adjacent low-lying lands for hydro-electric purposes.

The second approach from the east, and probably the earliest and most frequented, entered Pennsylvania at Shohola<sup>42</sup> where a creek by that name empties into the Delaware. Following up this stream the route continued through Lord's Valley and Blooming Grove<sup>43</sup> to Paupack where it joined with the path from Cushutunk to reach Little Meadows for points west. This was the course taken by the company<sup>44</sup> that penetrated to Wyoming in 1762-63. Obviously they must travel "Indian fashion" over Indian paths. When the immigrants of 1769 penetrated the wilderness they weilded their axes to make way for their ox-drawn carts, thus projecting the first "improved" road in Northeastern Pennsylvania. As a road it was barely passible at first on account of the stumps, rocks, uneven ground and bridgeless streams.

Another route<sup>45</sup> taken by the hardy settlers crossed the Delaware from Carpenter's Point, N. Y., which in the early days was much more promising than Port Jervis from which it was separated only by the small Neversink river. After ferrying across the Delaware the settlers dropped down the valley to Milford whence the course is said to have crossed the Sawkill and continued through Lord's Valley and Blooming Grove after uniting with the Shohola trail.

In coming by these various gateways to the Wyoming country the Connecticut people for the most part crossed the Hudson river at Newburgh<sup>46</sup> though some made the passage above Kingston. The route from Newburgh to Shohola being due west suggests a reason for its popularity, though the one to Milford was mostly along valleys and should have presented the minimum of difficulties. Those who pursued the latter course traversed in part the "Old Mine Road,"<sup>47</sup> which is described as the oldest road of equal length built in America. It was projected in the seventeenth century and extended from Kingston, N. Y., through Carpenter's Point and on down to the Pahaquarry copper mines in Warren county, N. J., a distance of 104 miles.

The path that came up from Asserughney to Capoose divided at the latter point, one branch taking the Cobb mountain route and the other<sup>48</sup> passing northward through Leggett's Gap (the "Notch"), and on through the Abingtons. Pursuing Leggett's creek for some distance, it jumped over to the North Branch of the Tunkhannock creek and made its way to Oghquago, or Oquago (Windsor,

N. Y.), on the Susquehanna. Clark's Green, Fleetville, Gibson and Jackson mark the course of this path, which subsequently lent itself to the route of the Philadelphia and Great Bend Turnpike,<sup>49</sup> a leading thoroughfare of the early days. In its southerly course the turnpike followed Roaring Brook out of the Lackawanna valley, continued through Cobb's Gap and then passed over the Pocono mountains, through Tannersville to Easton. For many miles this was also known as the Drinker Turnpike,<sup>50</sup> a name given in recognition of a prominent promoter of the times.

Soon after the Revolution a movement began for the development of highways, some being especially for the transportation of coal and iron, though the output<sup>51</sup> of these products was small. These followed trails blazed originally by the pioneers when they did not pursue Indian paths. The primitive roads utilized pole bridges for crossing streams that were not fordable, and traversed swampy ground on poles laid crossways, corduroy fashion. Many of the highways were established as turnpikes or toll roads<sup>52</sup> in order to provide for the cost of construction and maintenance.

One of the first turnpikes was the one connecting at Cochecton<sup>53</sup> with the road from Newburgh, and continuing on through Mt. Pleasant, Harford and New Milford to Great Bend. The Milford and Owego Turnpike<sup>54</sup> passed through Shohola Falls in Pike county, Canaan in Wayne, and Clifford and Montrose<sup>55</sup> in Susquehanna. It traversed the high hills and the low valleys to serve the homes along its way. The Belmont (Mount Pleasant) and Easton Turnpike, 56 known as the North and South Road, came from Easton by way of the Wind Gap and Tannersville to Mt. Pocono, and took its course through the western tier of townships in Wayne county, crossing the Milford and Owego Turnpike at Canaan Corners (Hamlin), and terminating at its junction with the Cochecton and Great Bend Turnpike at Mount Pleasant. Nearly parallel with this road but east of it was the Hilborn Road which originated at Stroudsburg and followed a northerly line through such townships as Blooming Grove, Hawley and Damascus to Stockport on the Delaware. From Stockport there was a portage road to Harmony (Lanesboro), on the Susquehanna. From Harmony the earliest road<sup>57</sup> to Great Bend was on the north side of the river. From Great Bend other roads radiated, such as those along the Wyalusing and Tunkhannock creeks to their mouths. From Bridgewater (Montrose),58 a turnpike extended over the hills with Wilkes-Barre as its other terminal. Naturally one of the most important routes was that of the Tioga<sup>59</sup> and Susquehanna Turnpike on the western border of the Wyoming country. Another was that of the Easton and Wilkes-Barre Turnpike, which adhered to the old Indian path. Various roads served such inland communities as Bethany, Dundaff, Honesdale and Waterford (Brooklyn)—communities whose early promise of greatness has scarcely been realized. That the roads projected in the early period had great significance for the growth of population<sup>60</sup> as well as for the economic, educational, political and religious development of the people there can be no question.

In addition to the routes of travel by land such as have been mentioned, notice should be taken of some of the points where ferries were established for crossing the two main rivers related to Northeastern Pennsylvania. On the Delaware the principal ferries pertaining to this region were those at Damascus, Shohola, Matamoras, Milford and Dingman's (Ferry). Among those on the Susquehanna were those at Lanesboro, Great Bend, <sup>61</sup> Athens, Ulster, Towanda, Wyalusing, Mehoopany (Hunt's), Tunkhannock, <sup>62</sup> Ransom—the old Gardner ferry opposite the mouth of Sutton's Creek—Pittston and Wilkes-Barre. <sup>63</sup> Besides the ferries there were innumerable fording places, particularly at certain times of the year and sections of the streams.

## CONFLICTS WITH THE INDIANS, AND THEIR CAUSES

Certain conflicts that took place in America during the second half of the eighteenth century may seem to have no bearing on the Methodist movement. However, they definitely did get themselves into the background of the early history of the church, and nowhere more significantly than in the region under consideration. This is largely due to the fact that these conflicts were not isolated incidents in American life and history. The issues involved were so interwoven and so nearly contemporary that it would be impossible fairly to treat of one without reference to the others. The outcome of the conflicts was felt in every phase of life. Very much the same people or their successors were engaged in what may be considered the varied phases of an intermittent struggle so that the nation and the church especially must be viewed in the perspective of the struggle itself. These phases may be considered under three heads: (1) the conflict between the native red man and the advancing white man; (2) the conflict between the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania and the settlers from Connecticut; and, (3) the American Revolution.

The issue between the natives<sup>64</sup> and the newcomers stemmed primarily from the immigration of aliens into the territory that had belonged to the aborigines from time immemorial. The Indian saw in this an encroachment upon his hunting and fishing grounds that boded no good to him. Even when he received a price for his lands he felt defrauded to be alienated from any of them. To be cheated out of his possessions by people whom he had trusted, as sometimes happened, was to engender in him a bitterness that never died. If, in resenting the trickery of the white man, the Indian resorted to savagery, it was because this was the method in which he had been schooled. His hate and hostility issued from provocations that did violence to whatever sense of justice a savage possesses. Fundamentally it may have been a question of the survival of two

sorts of civilizations, or, rather, of two ways of life. However, if the situation as to property rights had been reversed, what would white men have done, either in that era or in any other? They might have been less barbaric about it. But either they would have refused to sell their ancestral lands, or they would have fought for their possessions, or both.

It is well known that William Penn, the founder of the Province of Pennsylvania, dealt fairly with the Indians and had friendly relations with them. The great Quaker seemed to understand the children of the wilderness and to be understood by them. He also had a kindly heart and a sense of justice unaffected by race or color. The regret is that his successors<sup>65</sup> did not always pursue the lofty precedents established by the worthy Founder. In deviating from his high standards they allowed a lust for land and a lack of a due sense of their moral responsibilities to trick themselves as well as the Indians into the famous "Walking Purchase" of 1737. This was an outstanding instance of their fraudulent dealings with red men that had its repercussions for a whole generation. Only a few whites may have been at fault for the indefensible knavery. Yet all who shared in its benefits had themselves to blame for the forty or more years of arson and horrid murder visited upon the settlers at the hands of the Indians.

The Walking Purchase<sup>66</sup> was one of several transactions made between the Proprietors and the natives in compliance with their royal charter which stipulated, first, that they must purchase their lands from the Indians, and, second, that they should settle upon the lands so acquired. By the terms agreed upon for this particular purchase the Penn people were to buy that land bounded by a line beginning at a certain point on the Delaware river and within the present Bucks county, running westerly to a point mid-way of the county, continuing northwesterly as far as a man could walk in a day and a half, and then turning easterly to the river again, which was to be the eastern boundary. Contrary to the assumptions of the Delawares, from whom the land was being bought, three expert runners were employed to cover the distance. Only one of the three was able to continue for the thirty-six hours. But within that time he covered an estimated sixty miles. In spite of the protests of the Indians the Proprietaries insisted on drawing the line to the Delaware river at right angles to the direction taken by the runner instead of directly eastward as stipulated in the agreement. Thus the line was projected through the northeastern section of the Province and became a boundary of an area more than twice the size contemplated by the Indians who realized that the whites had taken advantage of their primitive methods of surveying.

The bitterness instilled in the hearts of the natives by the guile of the Proprietaries in this instance remained to plague the latter for many years to come. The objections of the Delawares to compliance with the demands of the Penn people were overruled by the superior Iroquois who were on friendly terms with

the Proprietaries. It was because they were obliged to vacate their Minisink homes that many of the Delawares settled in the Wyoming and Lackawanna valleys. After nearly twenty years of friction in which many homes were pillaged, much property was burned and many lives were taken, a council was held in Easton in 1756, at which efforts at conciliation were made. Though the depredations after this meeting were not as great as in the year of two preceding, roving bands of Indians continued the same type of maraud as before.

The more violent aspects of these hostilities were coincident with the French and Indian War of 1755 to 1763, in which the Indians arrayed themselves with the French against the Pennsylvanians. However, in the northeastern part of the Province the quarrel was solely between the Indians and the settlers. Following this war the Delawares moved up the Susquehanna where for a time they maintained villages at Tunkhannock, Wyalusing and elsewhere. Ultimately they were obliged to quit the country entirely, many of them migrating to Ohio and parts beyond. Just as the Indians had allied themselves with the French for the war that bears their name, so they later allied themselves with the English during the American Revolution. Though not concerned with the fundamental objectives of their allies in either instance, they were interested in any alliance that might be the means of exterminating the white men especially from the Wyoming country. In each case the Indians were motivated by an abiding resentment at the encroachments of the intruders and at the methods by which their patrimony was acquired. In all of this it must be recognized that alternately the French and the British took advantage of the natives in inciting them against the settlers.

### THE YANKEE-PENNAMITE WAR

Second in the sequence of the conflicts that took place in Northeastern Pennsylvania after the middle of the eighteenth century was that between the two different groups of white people who undertook to enforce their mutually contradictory claims to lands within this area. The conflict was known as the Yankee-Pennamite<sup>67</sup> War and was the result of the strangest and most inconsistent series of royal grants ever issued by an English monarch. Doubtless ignorance of the geography of the American continent was the primary cause of the flagrant overlapping of the grants authorized for this very important section of the country. On April 20, 1662, Charles II confirmed and renewed to the Connecticut Colony the conveyance that had been made in 1620 by his grandfather James I to the Plymouth Colony, by which the former colony came into the title of the land extending westward to the "South Sea" between parallels 41 and 42 north latitude. These parallels approximate the southern and

northern boundaries of Connecticut, pass through lower New York, northern Pennsylvania, and run on to the Pacific ocean. As the 42nd parallel is the northern line of Pennsylvania the grant included the region under discussion. Less than nineteen years after King Charles had issued the document to the Connecticut Colony he on March 4, 1681, authorized another one by which he conveyed to William Penn, Esq., the lands between the 40th and 43rd parallels, extending five degrees westward from the Delaware river. This of course overlapped much of the area within Pennsylvania to which the Connecticut Colony had antecedent rights. According to the terms of each grant the validity of the claims of the respective grantees was contingent upon settlement within the territory designated, and specifically upon the prior purchase of the lands from the Indians whose original rights were recognized in the grants.

For many years neither party gave more than casual attention to the region for which there were overlapping claims, evidently too much absorbed in the struggle for existence to concern themselves in remoter matters requiring effort. Indeed, in 1683 the Easterners conceded to the newly organized colony of New York whatever property rights within New York may have been implicit in the charter previously granted to the Connecticut Colony, on the payment of 760 Spanish dollars. Nearly a century passed before any definite move was made by either group to settle in the wilderness that was Northeastern Pennsylvania. As already noticed the Pennsylvanians in 1737 made the Walking Purchase that took in a fraction of the region. The year prior to this the Indians had sold to Thomas and Richard Penn, sons of the deceased founder of the Province, lands not previously disposed of as far north as the 42nd parallel. Apparently this sale did not include all the lands in this section as later sales were made.

Meantime traders traveling in Pennsylvania had brought back word to the colonists of the wonders of the western country. Moreover, venturesome men were beginning to feel the resurgence of the pioneering spirit. Though for a time they had thought of Connecticut as roomy enough, being rugged individualists by nature they became impatient of the proximity of neighbors and longed for the greater space offered by the primeval frontiers. In the riches of the western wilds they were determined to seek their wealth. But it was only the hardier and more daring men and women<sup>68</sup> who were lured to brave the hardships and dangers of the newer country. The records of their experiences constitute some of the most thrilling stories of the early American scene.

In 1753 the New Englanders organized the Connecticut Susquehanna Company under the authority of the Connecticut Colony, and proceeded to purchase from the Indians lands in the Wyoming country. Previous to this they had sent a commission to make explorations and to show friendliness to the natives. In 1754 the company at a Council of the Six Nations, held at Albany, paid 2,000 pounds to the Indians for the area between parallels 41 and 42, beginning at

a line ten miles east of and parallel to the Susquehanna river and extending westerly two degrees. This included the important riparian lands of the Susquehanna and reached westward to the vicinity of Bradford. This sale was confirmed nine years later when a second treaty was negotiated at another Council held at Albany. About the same time that the Susquehanna Company was organized there was also formed under the jurisdiction of the Connecticut Colony the Delaware Company to which was assigned the lands between the Delaware river and the holdings of the former company. These lands, purchased by the Delaware Company in 1757, never became seriously involved in the conflicting claims that later caused trouble.

Coincident with the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1755 Yankee surveyors and settlers entered Wyoming but found the country was already ablaze with hostilities, and were driven out. In 1762 the New Englanders made the first serious effort to settle in the West, choosing as a site the banks of Mill Creek near where it empties into the Susquehanna, just above Wilkes-Barre. Returning East for the winter, they and others, totaling a company of 150, returned in the spring and went to work at cultivating the soil. However, the Indians were still on the war path. One of the last atrocities of the waning conflict was that of Oct. 15, 1763, when the savages fell upon the settlers, who in spite of warnings decided to remain through harvest, slaughtered<sup>69</sup> a score of them and captured such of them as had not taken to flight. This was the first Wyoming massacre.

An historic council was held at Fort Stanwix, N. Y., in November, 1768, one outcome of which was a formal agreement on peace. Even more significant was the repudiation<sup>70</sup> of the sale to the New Englanders, which had been effected fourteen years earlier, but which also had been denounced. On the other hand the Iroquois, ignoring the fact that the Delawares considered Northeastern Pennsylvania as belonging to them of right, proceeded to sell<sup>71</sup> or resell the Wyoming country to the Proprietaries, with whom they had been in alliance for some years. This was the sixth sale effected between the Six Nations and the Pennsylvanians, though it apparently reaffirmed some transactions previously made. The deal included lands on the east side of the Susquehanna and extended to the southwestern part of the Province. It is the contention of some that the use of liquor and bribery aided in arriving at the decisions of the Council of 1768. Be that as it may, the decrees of the Council intensified the feud between the Yankees and the Pennamites, which proved to be implacable.

The Proprietaries denied that the Easterners had any legal rights in Pennsylvania, basing their argument partly upon their own charter, partly upon their purchases and partly upon the fact that the Connecticut people had in 1683 relinquished to New York all rights within that colony. However, the Connecticut colony had never alienated her rights west of the Delaware river, and was

sustained in her claims by the British government. In spite of claims and counter claims, or perhaps because of them, each group went forward with separate plans for the promotion of its interests. Unable peaceably to reconcile the conflicting royal grants, the contradictory decisions of Councils and the sale of identical lands to different people, resort was made to other means, especially the methods of violence. Evidently anticipating another invasion of the Yankees, the Provincials soon after the meeting at Ft. Stanwix took steps in January, 1769, to establish themselves in Wyoming, selecting the location previously occupied by the Easterners on Mill Creek. On Feb. 8 the Yankees returned and joined issue with those who had taken over grounds for which they had a preemption. This was the definite beginning of the Yankee-Pennamite War which proved to be bitter and sanguinary. The first phase of the struggle lasted for two years though the conflict itself flared up again and again over a period of several years. As population increased the strength of each side was augmented. During the Revolution the feud abated partly because each group recognized in the British a common foe, and partly because the region was bereft of inhabitants for much of the period. The Indians in alliance with the British terrorized the whole region, so that those who were not killed or captured were driven out of the country.

The controversy between the two rival parties was shown not only by deeds of violence of every sort but also in the political establishment which each instituted for the governance of the people. Some kind of an organization was required by the nature of the case and also to comply with the charter stipulations in regard to populating whatever area was held. Thus it was that the provincial government<sup>72</sup> in 1772 created Northumberland county in such a way that it covered all the region under consideration and extended from the Delaware river to the western border of the Province. On the other hand the Susquehanna company<sup>73</sup> in 1770 erected five townships in Wyoming, namely, Kingston, Wilkes-Barre, Hanover ("Nanticoke"), Plymouth and Pittston ("Pittstown"). A year later Providence<sup>74</sup> was created, making the sixth township. Subsequently thirteen other townships were arranged. These townships were each five miles square and were divided into fifty-three shares or lots of 300 acres. Inasmuch as Kingston was the first township to meet the quota of forty families required for organization it came to be known as "The Forty." These first settlers built a fort as a means of defense against the Indians as well as against the belligerent Pennsylvanians. This acquired the name of "The Forty Fort," and was situated<sup>75</sup> a short distance below the old Forty Fort church and about eighty feet from the river. The name survives as "Forty Fort," a borough within the township of Kingston. Keeping pace with the establishment of other townships other forts were built for refuge and defense. Corresponding to the Northumberland of the Pennsylvanians the Connecticut people in 1774 created

Westmoreland, first as a town attached to Litchfield county, Conn., and later as a separate county complete with civil and military functions. It extended from the Delaware river to a line parallel to and fifteen miles west of the Susquehanna, inclosing an area of about seventy miles square. In effect it was considered a separate colony. The names of Northumberland and Westmoreland suggest the points of the compass from which these political divisions were viewed by the respective claimants.

Meantime the Proprietaries created two manors,<sup>76</sup> the one on the west side of the Susquehanna being known as the Manor of Sunbury, and the one on the east side as the Manor of Stoke. Other manors were added in the course of time. Within these manors forts or blockhouses were erected as a part of the strategy designed to thwart the immigration from the East. As the conflict progressed these forts changed hands many times. The question of who should occupy them depended upon whichever group was in the ascendency at the time. Prominent among the leaders of the Pennamites were the surveyor Charles Stewart, Captain Amos Ogden and Sheriff John Jennings, to each of whom 100 acres of land had been given by their sponsors. Stewart and Ogden were among the Pennsylvanians who had seized Mill Creek in advance of the coming of the Yankees in the winter of 1768-69.

Many efforts were made to adjust the differences between the contending factions but with no immediate results. First of all the State of Pennsylvania, 77 taking up the cause formerly espoused by the provincial government, undertook in 1776 to settle matters by forcibly driving out the Yankees in spite of all they had suffered at the hands of the Torries and Indians. The scheme did not have the designed effect. In 1782 the federal government<sup>78</sup> adjudicated the dispute at Trenton, N. J. The "Trenton Decree" was satisfactory to Pennsylvania and was acceptable to Connecticut in that it assigned jurisdiction to the former, one of the questions that had been at issue. However, the Connecticut settlers, who were less concerned about the problem of jurisdiction than they were about having clear titles to their real estate, repudiated the decree and resumed warfare till as late as 1785. In 1783 state authorities endeavored to effect a compromise, carrying on negotiations through John Jenkins, Col. Nathan Dennison, Obadiah Gore and Samuel Shepherd as a committee of local men. Failing in this, force was again employed to evacuate the country of all who did not hold titles running back to the provincial purchases. In this case some 50079 people were uprooted from their homes without redress and violently driven out of the state, among them being women and little children as well as the aged and the infirm. Most of these victims of expulsion trudged along the old familiar route, stopping on consecutive nights at Copoose, Mt. Cobb, Little Meadows, Lackawack, Blooming Grove and Shohola, On reaching the Delaware they scattered, some crossing at one place and others at another, but all bound eastward. Subsequently some of these refugees returned<sup>80</sup> and persisted in their efforts to maintain possession of the lands whose acquisition had entailed so much labor and suffering—lands which they regarded as being rightfully their own. Newcomers<sup>81</sup> who arrived in the region in the later years of the controversy entered into the struggle when they discovered that the property which they had purchased from the Yankee pioneers lacked validity under Pennsylvania law. They were distressed to find that in order to retain their holdings they must again purchase them through the channels of the state. Finally the Compromise Law<sup>82</sup> was passed in 1799, by which Pennsylvanians might sell their properties to the Commonwealth at a fair rate for the times, which properties could be purchased at a much lower price by Connecticut people, provided the claims of the latter antedated the Trenton Decree.

Thus peace came after fully thirty years of bitter conflict. Yet for more than a quarter of a century afterward there was much contention over real estate titles, <sup>83</sup> a fact that has been recognized in litigations of recent times. Naturally the Yankee-Pennamite War not only affected the life of the people in Northeastern Pennsylvania but also diverted <sup>84</sup> elsewhere many who might have become desirable citizens, retarded the development of the country and militated against the moral and religious well-being of the inhabitants. To such an extent had the controversy gone that a movement was initiated for the formation of another State that would include the Wyoming country. The leaders of the movement went so far as to confer with Ethan Allen in the hope that he who had played so conspicuous a part in the separation of Vermont from New York would render a similar service in Pennsylvania.

The conflict<sup>85</sup> between the Yankees and the Pennamites was at base something more than a struggle joined by peoples from different parts of the country or peoples who were concerned in mutually exclusive claims to real estate. (The Proprietaries would have been very well satisfied to allow the New Englanders to settle in the western part of the Province where they indeed might be a barrier between the Pennsylvanians and the French.) The contention was not solely that of a province against a colony, or of a colony versus a province. Rather it was the collision of two different groups of people who entertained divergent ideologies. One group was especially imbued with the idea of individualism. The slogans of its constituency were freedom and independence. The other group was made up of persons who essentially were syndicalists and found the roots of their thinking in feudalism. It is not at all likely that the participants themselves perceived that the question at issue was as to whether the country should be settled on the one hand by owners holding their property in fee simple and on the other hand by such as were tenants at will. It is gratifying today to realize that, though Pennsylvania won in the dispute for the possession of the land, nevertheless the ideologies of the New Englanders pre-



WYOMING MONUMENT



vailed in the general set-up of life. The victory of the former was established when the Province of Pennsylvania became incorporated as one of the original commonwealths of the United States of America. The victory of the latter ensued when the tide of immigration from the East enabled the New Englanders to become the dominant people of the region. However ardent, or however patriotic may have been the devotion of the partisans of either cause, and however valuable may have been the results attained, it is greatly to be regretted that so much of avarice and greed entered into the conflict. These negative factors were emphasized in the Walking Purchase, in the practices of the various parties involved, and in the policies of the land-jobbers<sup>86</sup> whose unscrupulous methods prolonged and intensified the antagonisms.

## PERIOD OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Third in the series of conflicts antecedent to the introduction of Methodism into Northeastern Pennsylvania was the American Revolution,87 or that phase of the Revolution that involved this particular section of America. The war for independence must be regarded in its varied relations and not solely as a series of military engagements along the Atlantic coast. The clashes on the frontier were by no means isolated incidents but were vitally related to the encompassing struggle. While the Yankee-Pennamite War88 temporarily was held in abeyance because of the need of both factions to unite against the common enemy, the Indian troubles found a new avenue of expression when the Crown drew the sword against the colonists. Most of the Whigs89 among the settlers withdrew from the upper regions of the Susquehanna by the early part of 1778, leaving the country to such of the Pennsylvanians as were actively promoting the cause of the Tories or in sympathy with them. On the other hand practically all of the Indians formerly living in Wyoming had quit the country, not of choice but under duress. Besides their natural desire to have their hunting grounds restored to them they could neither forget nor forgive the knavery of the Walking Purchase and were eager for any opportunity to wreak vengeance upon those who had either participated in that crime or had been the beneficiaries of it. As for the Iroquois, if they no longer entertained an attitude of amity toward the Pennsylvanians, it was because they found it now more expedient to be in alliance with the British. At the same time the British deemed it greatly to their political as well as military advantage to use the Iroquois and their satellites against the Americans.

The strategy of the British in moving against the settlers in Wyoming was formulated in London<sup>90</sup> and had for its purpose the neutralizing of one of the chief menaces to their entire campaign. The region had not only furnished two companies for Washington's army but had also supplied quantities of wheat for his soldiers. Being one of the most prosperous of the frontier sections, it

was especially singled out for devastation. So long as the rebellious people of this area continued unmolested Britain's cause would be in serious jeopardy. From this quarter might originate a movement that would threaten the flank of the British army in the Mohawk valley and elsewhere. Therefore the fertile fields of Wyoming must be destroyed and the people of that region driven out or exterminated.

The key man for the carrying out of these operations was Sir William Johnson<sup>91</sup> who was in charge of Indian affairs and who lived in great estate in the Mohawk valley. In 1777 he effected an alliance<sup>92</sup> between the British and the Six Nations as against the Revolutionists, one provision of which was that the Indians should have the right to scalp their victims. But when it came to the exercise of this right articles of agreement made in Council were not enough to restrain the natives' lust for the barbarities of war or to subdue the long smoldering motive for revenge. Subordinate to Sir William were the notorious Tories<sup>93</sup> John Butler and his son Walter. Of these two probably the father was less inhuman than the son. Associated with them was Joseph Brant, who was the grandson of a Mohawk chief, and whose sister Molly was presumably Sir William's common-law wife.

Although Connecticut in 1777 organized in Northeastern Pennsylvania the county<sup>94</sup> of Westmoreland and gave it a complete civil and military establishment, the new county was too weak<sup>95</sup> to resist any formidable encroachment upon its territory. Near by on the north were the Indian villages of Tioga and Ouaquaga, which were convenient rallying points for the British. The nearest settlement of any size was Stroudsburg, more than fifty miles away to the southeast, reached only by way of lofty mountains, dense forests and great swamps. Under the authority of the Continental Congress two companies were organized in Wyoming in 1776 with a personnel of 82 men each, subsequently increased to a total of 300. But the following year these companies under Captains Obadiah Gore and John Jameson were ordered to report to General Washington, leaving the frontier without adequate military defense. Moreover, the population<sup>96</sup> of the region was pitifully small and widely scattered.

For the protection of the settlers authority was given at a town meeting<sup>97</sup> held in Wilkes-Barre, Aug. 24, 1776, for the erection of five forts. But these<sup>98</sup> were not much better than stockades and were without cannon. The male population was organized into militia to the number of about 300, mostly old men and boys. In the early summer of 1778 these defenders were augmented by the presence of Col. Zebulon Butler and some sixty soldiers from the Continental army.

Under conditions such as these the Wyoming Valley on Friday, July 3, 1778, was subjected to the most tragic experience that ever befell a pioneer American settlement. On that memorable day the almost defenseless inhabitants were

surprised by the invasion of a horde of 400 to 500 British soldiers under the command of Col. John Butler, and of Indian warriors, variously estimated at 500 to 800 strong, under the leadership of the Seneca Chief Kayingwaurto, the "Old King." After stealthily advancing down the Susquehanna they moved swiftly against Fort Wintermoot at the upper end of the Valley on the west side of the river. Though the fort was commanded by a patriot, he was obliged to surrender because the militia under him was dominantly British in sympathy. A mile farther south was Fort Jenkins which was feebly manned and yielded after a brief resistance.

On receiving information of the approach of the hostile forces, Col. Zebulon Butler and his aids held a council of war at the old Forty Fort which was some three miles below Wintermoot. Col. Butler's judgment was to await the attack within the fort. But the militia, concerned for the protection of their property, overruled him and insisted on advancing against the enemy, hoping to surprise him as he approached. Evidently none of the defenders had any adequate notion of the number and disposition of the adversary. Leaving the women and children within the fort, actual contact with the enemy was made about 3 p.m., at a point opposite Monocasy Island, not far from Wintermoot Fort and in the lower part of the present borough of Wyoming. In spite of the withering fire of the British the patriots held their ground for possibly an hour when the Indians with a whoop emerged from the swamp on the left. Thereupon the American Col. Butler, thinking to shorten his lines, gave order to fall back. Col. Nathan Dennison, who was second in command and had charge on the left flank, misunderstood the order as calling for retreat. He therefore withdrew his forces and thus exposed the rest of the defenders to the decimating onslaught of the Tories and the red men who converged upon them, At the close of the unequal contest the bodies of 160 to 200, or approximately one-half of the Americans engaged, remained upon the field of battle. The captains of the defending forces, which were divided into companies of fifty, were all slain. Only sixty of the survivors managed to get back to the fort. An unknown number took flight and escaped. Of the prisoners or wounded but five survived. On the other hand only 60 to 80 of the enemy were slain.

On Saturday morning, July 4, Col. Nathan Dennison, the Reverend Jacob Johnson, Zerah Beach and one or two others went to Col. John Butler under a flag of truce and offered to surrender. Accordingly a meeting was arranged to be held in the home of Col. Dennison. The terms of capitulation as demanded by the conqueror included the transfer of the five forts to him. For his part he gave assurance of the safety of life for all, with the exception of Col. Zebulon Butler whose release to him was stipulated. This stipulation, however, proved impossible to fulfill for the reason that the doughty colonel and such of his

comrades as survived the battle made good their escape that very day. Col. John Butler signed the document for the British. Among those who signed for the patriots was Col. Dennison who attached his name as "Nathan Denniston." It is very possible that the peace terms might have been far different, if the advice of Col. Zebulon Butler had been accepted and a delaying policy pursued by the defenders. The reinforcements that he anticipated would come from the colonial army did arrive a few days after the battle. Had the militia held out until the arrival of these soldiers, the frontier might have been spared its most frightful experience. In connection with the escape of Col. Butler99 there was an incident that was a tragedy touched with humor. As he was galloping away Rufus Bennett, a youth of seventeen years, grabbed the tail of the colonel's horse and was carried along for some distance. When he could no longer hold on and was obliged to release his grasp the colonel spied Richard Inman whose flight was being retarded apparently by an excess of liquor. Inman was commanded by Col. Butler to shoot the foremost Indian. Being an excellent marksman, and being now awakened to his senses, Inman discharged a shot that was effective and that served to discourage the other pursuers.

The "Wyoming Massacre" is not so much to be indentified with the battle itself as with what ensued especially on the following day. Concerning the aftermath of the unequal engagement there are divergent accounts. Yet there can be no question but that there was much of pillage, plunder, arson and butchery as perpetrated by the Indians, Appeal was made to Col. John Butler to enforce the terms of the surrender and to restrain the excesses of the red men, but with little success. Had not the British engaged the Indians with the understanding that they might scalp their victims? Had not the colonel been commissioned to destroy Wyoming? Moreover, the Indians felt that whatever they did was justified by what they had suffered at the hands of the white men who now occupied their ancient domains. As for the Americans, they had been fighting for their homes which they considered they had acquired by rightful purchase and possession as well as by their own hard work and sacrifice. They also had been fighting for their loved ones and for the cause of human freedom. Prompted by such motives on the part of the respective combatants, it was almost inevitable that the battle would be bitter and the outcome an approach to annihilation.

The meager and differing accounts that have been handed down make it impossible to reconstruct the full story of the barbarities that took place, if that were desirable. Much has been made of the atrocities attributed to the character known as "Queen Esther," who is said to have been a half-breed, and the seat of whose rule was on Queen Esther Flats on the west side of the Susquehanna just below its juncture with the Chemung. Stories of her origin are in dispute, though all authorities agree that the queen was a person of remarkable cunning and prowess. Denial has been made that either Joseph Brant, Walter Butler of

Queen Esther was present at or after the Battle of Wyoming. However, it is pretty certain that she was present and that she took a prominent part especially in what transpired after that event. The Queen Esther Rock, which is located in the borough of Wyoming near the approach to the bridge that spans the Susquehanna, is much more than a legend. It has been recounted that upon this rock this unnatural woman brutally bludgeoned to death with her own hands fourteen of the sixteen prisoners that had fallen into her power. While the victims were seated on the rock and severally held by two savages she despatched them, some by the death mall and some by the hatchet. This multiple murder was accompanied by the chanting of war songs, and is said to have been motivated by the killing of her own son by the whites before the battle. Two of the intended victims, Lebbeus Hammond and Joseph Elliott, surprised their captors by wrenching away and running for their lives. Though they escaped a brother of Hammond was slain on the rock.

Not only on the day of capitulation but also at least on the third day which was Sunday the Indians continued their spoliation, wanton destruction and death, making it one great holiday. They evidently felt the freer to carry on their orgies after the departure of the British. It is stated that in many instances the savages slew settlers in cold blood. Some of their victims, including young boys, were tied and then burned alive. One boy was impaled upon bayonets which were set in the ground. Building a fire of pine knots under him, they slowly tortured him to death. It was because of such savagery as this that the Battle of Wyoming came to be known as the Wyoming Massacre.

Within a few days of the frontier tragedy the region was bereft<sup>101</sup> of its inhabitants. What Tory sympathizers had remained in the Valley followed the British soldiers when the latter retraced their steps northward. American patriots, shocked and saddened by the direful experiences through which they had passed, and fearful of further deeds of violence, fled from the scenes of anguish, seeking safety wherever they might find it. Many, panic-stricken, took precipitate departure, either by night or by day, using whatever routes seemed most promising and most accessible. Some slipped down the river. Most groups headed eastward to cross the Delaware, either by way af Mt. Cobb and Little Meadows to Shohola, or by Jacob's Plains, Laurel Run and Bear Creek to Stroudsburg. New England was the ultimate objective of many of the fugitives who included the few survivors of the battle and its aftermath, to whom must be added possibly 150 women, mostly widowed, and the children who have been estimated to number 600.

In their flight the experiences of these refugees were as tragic in many instances as those through which they had passed in Wyoming. Whatever route to the East might have been chosen would require traversing through some part of the Great Swamp. Those who sought escape to Stroudsburg were obliged

to go over rugged mountains, find their way through dense forests infested with wild animals, struggle through treacherous marshes, and subsist upon wild huckleberries in the absence of ordinary food. The hardships incurred by these pitiful people are beyond description. Fearful and foot-sore, they suffered from fatigue, exposure, privations and disease. It is estimated that fully 200 souls, young and old, perished by the way, so great was the ordeal.

The most impassable as well as the most impenetrable part of the route over the mountain bore the name of "The Shades of Death." 102 It is not surprising that many have explained this expression as having its origin in the terrible experiences of the refugees, for it was indelibly associated with the memories of their tragic retreat. Even today the lofty pines and towering hemlocks in the vicinity of Bear Creek inspire the traveler with awe, even if not with dread. However, it is authoritatively stated<sup>103</sup> that the phrase "The Shades of Death" "was attached to the locality and appeared on the maps long previous to 1778." It is very possible that a more accurate explanation of the expression is to be found in the fact that from time immemorial there has flowed through this region a stream known as "Shade's Creek," deriving its name from a Mr. Shade who in very early times had his home along this creek. The stream was inevitably athwart the line of travel of the aborigines, of the settlers, of Sullivan's army, and of all later travelers between Stroudsburg and Wilkes-Barre. Several<sup>104</sup> of the personnel participating in Sullivan's expedition kept diaries in which they have given very vivid descriptions of the Great Swamp and the Shades of Death. One explained that the designation, "Shades of Death," found on their maps was given "by reason of its darkness." Another in stating that, "The last vale of the Swamp is called the Shadow of Death," gives the hint that the 23rd Psalm might have been the source of the suggestion for the phrase. Whatever the origin of the expression it found its most fitting application in the horrible and haunting experiences of the fugitives from the revengeful savages.

Not only the men but also the women<sup>105</sup> of the frontier were necessarily inured to privations, hardships, sufferings and often to the sight of Indian cruelty. The flight of those who escaped from the Valley in the summer of 1778 presents many an illustration of the fortitude and endurance of the pioneer women. One such instance is that of Mrs. Zebulon Marcy,<sup>106</sup> who together with her husband and others, came by way of the Plains and Laurel Run to the Great Swamp, whence they went to Tobyhanna, to Dingman's Ferry and to Fishkill on the Hudson. On the evening of July 22, while on this journey, Mrs. Marcy gave birth to a baby girl. As though this were but incidental to the trip, the mother arose on the following morning and continued on with the others afoot, walking sixteen miles that day. On the second day a conveyance sent on by her father overtook the company and afforded her transportation. Like many others

of her contemporaries Mrs. Marcy was a devout Christian, and, in gratitude to God not only for the birth of her baby but even more for their safe deliverance from the hands of the cruel savages, she named the infant "Thankful."

The depredations of the Indians were not confined to the Wyoming Valley but were carried on throughout Northeastern Pennsylvania. Their campaign to exterminate 107 the settlers either by destroying them or by driving them out included the regions of Wallenpaupack, Cushutunk and upper Minisinks. Some weeks after the Battle of Wyoming Col. Zebulon Butler, 108 Col. Spauling together with a company of soldiers, and some of the more venturesome settlers returned to the Valley in an effort to retrieve the lost lands and to harvest the standing grain, but were harrassed by roving bands of Indians who killed or took prisoners a number of the whites. It was not till Col. Butler and his party came into the Valley that the bodies of those slain in early July were interred. In September Col. Hartly and a group of soldiers augmented the forces already in Wyoming, making it possible to drive the Indians temporarily out of the region.

Scarcely four months after the Wyoming Battle, on Nov. 2, 1778, occurred one of the most pathetic cases of kidnaping recorded in history. On that date three Indians visited the humble home of Jonathan Slocum, 109 which was situated within the southern part of the present city of Wilkes-Barre. The father, who was a Quaker and therefore a Pennamite rather than a Yankee, was away at the time. The fact that Mr. Slocum as a Quaker was a noncombatant gave him the confident feeling that he would be exempt from the contemporary conflicts. But the red men made no distinctions as to religious beliefs or as to the age or sex of their victims. At the time of the kidnaping the Slocum household in addition to the parents included their four children, a negro girl and two Kingsley boys whom the Slocums had befriended after their father had been taken prisoner. One of the Kingsley boys was killed by the Indians, and the other taken captive. Two of the Slocum children escaped by running. Frances Slocum, then about six years of age, was kidnaped as also was the negro girl. A younger brother of Frances would have been taken, if the mother had not called the attention of the Indians to the fact that he was a cripple and would therefore be of no value to them as well as being a burden on a long journey. After the return of Mr. Slocum frantic and heroic efforts were made to trace the marauders but to no avail. Subsequently he was slain. For many years after the abduction diligent search was made to locate the stolen children. Long afterward information came that led to the discovery of Frances who by this time had become an Indian to all intents and superficial characteristics. So wedded had she became to the Indian life that she studiously concealed her identity lest she might be obliged to forfeit her family and the ways and associations of her adopted people. When well along in years she confided her secret to a chance traveler, Col. Ewing, who wrote about his discovery, sending his letter to a postmaster with the request that it be published. The postmaster, considering it a hoax, laid the letter away. Two years after his death the widow complied with Col. Ewing's request and caused the strange story to appear in print. Correspondence ensued, bringing about a meeting between Frances Slocum and her sister and two brothers, the mother having died before information of the whereabouts of the long lost daughter had been revealed. The identification of Frances was complete in spite of all the changes that time and circumstances had wrought. Now at the age of sixty-five, in 1837, no inducements could prevail upon her to return to the scenes of her early childhood or to separate her from the people and life she had come to love. Though her case was unique, it was by no means the only instance in which a white child was stolen from its home and never again seen by relatives and friends.

In the summer of 1779 General Washington, not only as a means of relief to the Wyoming settlers but also as a part of the strategy of war, sent Major General John Sullivan<sup>110</sup> and an army that ultimately aggregated 4,000 men on an expedition to remove the Indian pressure on the western flank. Though the army was augmented from various points, it originated at Easton, Pa., and, adhering nearly to the old Indian paths, passed through the southern fringe of the Poconos, through the Bear Creek country and thence to its place of encampment at Fort Wyoming, just below Wilkes-Barre. Here the force remained for nearly six weeks. Meantime detachments were arriving and supplies were being received from over the mountains or from down the river. The journals of several of the officers speak of the large population living in the Valley previous to the incursions of the Indians the year before, and the contrasting contemporary scene of depopulation and desolation. Deer and other game were found in abundance. During the encampment at Wyoming two soldiers were courtmartialed and sentenced to death by hanging. After one had been executed the other was reprieved on the score that he had a family and also had humbly confessed his fault. The intercession of the chaplains had weight in this case. On Sunday, July 4th, as on other Sundays, a sermon was preached as a part of the regular religious observance. However, on the following day there was a special recognition of the anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Particularly General Poor invited the officers of his brigade to a dinner which was served to eighty-seven guests. No less than thirteen toasts were drunk on a great variety of themes.

On Saturday, July 31, the army broke camp, moved up the Susquehanna and arrived at Tioga on August 10, halting at seven places on the way. Details given in the diaries of some of the men reveal the primitive scenes of the frontier, the hardships incurred and the privations endured. Crude roads were constructed for the passage of men and military supplies. It is interesting to note that the route was almost entirely on the east side of the river and along the

old Warrior Path. The Susquehanna was forded at Sheshequin where the water was waist-high. After passing through Queen Esther's Flats the Chemung river was crossed to the temporary encampment at Tioga. In following the route it was sometimes necessary to deviate from the river on account of high cliffs that flanked the stream. One of the diarists mentioned what he described as the most amazing view from the heights above Wyalusing. Notation was also made of the difficulties incurred in passing over Breakneck Hill before reaching Sheshequin, especially in transporting cannon.

It is a matter of record that Sullivan's expedition which culminated in western New York was marked by some immediate success, although it was not till near the close of the Revolution three years later that the country was free from the marauding red man. Taken by itself the Wyoming Valley, because of the fertility<sup>111</sup> of its soil and its natural resources, was a prize worth contending for by the various embattled groups, Indians, British, Pennamites and Yankees. In a resurgence of hostilities the Indians<sup>112</sup> on March 27, 1780, boldly seized Thomas Bennett and his son Solomon as they were ploughing a field within the present Kingston. Later on the same day they took Lebbeus Hammond who was searching for a stray horse farther up the Susquehanna. This Hammond was one of the two men who escaped from the clutches of their captors at the time of the slaughter on the Queen Esther's Rock. The Bennetts and Hammond were escorted up the river toward an unknown destination. On the third night as the party was encamped on the site of the present Meshoppen, while all of the Indians including the guards were asleep, the prisoners, realizing that their own lives were in jeopardy, seized guns and hatchets and fell upon their hosts. Without harm to themselves they slew five of their captors and wounded two others who nevertheless succeeded in getting away. During the next three days Hammond and the Bennetts made their way home, traveling without food, suffering from exposure to the elements, and harrassed by the fear of being waylaid by red men.

The significance of the Revolutionary War to the settlers in the Wyoming Valley was primarily in relation to the dangers from and the possible death at the hands of the savages. It was not till after the end of the war that the frontier became safe from spoliation. When the British made peace with the colonies their compact with the Iroquois ceased to have meaning and became null and void. The only alternative then for the Indians was to lay aside their symbols and implements of warfare, begin their exodus from the old haunts, and start their final trek westward.

### MATERIAL AND HUMAN INVOLVEMENTS

The subjects which have thus far been discussed not only have a coherence and an interlocking connection but necessarily must be considered, if one would adequately appraise the development of any religious movement in its relation to what is involved. No such movement originates within a given moment or a given year. Likewise it cannot truly be isolated from its background however contrasting the factors may appear to be. It is therefore important to review the material and human involvements out from which not only Methodism but other religious groups emerged in the earlier years of American history. First of all it is pertinent to examine the natural resources available to the settlers in the area under consideration, resources which very largely were the impelling motive that induced them to make settlement.

Whatever Northeastern Pennsylvania may have lacked late in the eighteenth century it was not deficient in visible or discoverable wealth. It was because<sup>113</sup> of this that the New Englanders migrated to this region and hazarded the dangers and privations for the promised good. Moreover, it was not solely for their rude cabins and the ground upon which they stood that the settlers fought but even more for the families they were raising and the homes that were yet to be as they dimly visualized the weal of their posterity, which their elemental surroundings could scarcely prophesy.

One of the earliest portrayals of the luxuriant fertility of the Wyoming Valley is that which the Moravian missionary, de Watteville, wrote in his journal<sup>114</sup> under a date near the middle of the century. Describing the scene that was presented as he entered the Valley, he noted: "(Bishop) Camerloff and myself kept in our saddles, the better to get a view of the flats. But the grass was so high at times as to overtop us, though mounted, and I never beheld such a beautiful expanse of land." The aborigines had taken advantage of the fertile area as a place for planting corn and for setting out orchards. Here, too, they had several villages. Surely in those early times there could be no complaint of worn-out soil. Likewise, there could be no hint of soil erosion, for, excepting in isolated instances, forests covered the valleys as well as the mountains of the larger Wyoming. The primeval woods constituted much of the wealth of the country, and were also immediately available for the utensils of the times and for the homes which necessarily were built almost entirely of wood, even to the pins that held the logs together. They furnished unlimited supplies of fuel. From the trunks of certain trees came the bark used or sold for the tanning of leather. From their ashes were obtained the chemicals employed in the making of soap. From the maples was derived the sugar that served as a necessary household commodity and as a substitute for currency in common business transactions. Moreover, the forests were the haunts of the wild game, both animals and birds, that constituted most of the meat served in the settlers' homes. Fallen and decayed trees of another era provided the humus that nourished the crops of the farmers after their lands were cleared.

The streams of Wyoming were numerous, abundant and perennial. They

blessed the earth with moisture, irrigated the land, and, by their hidden courses, afforded palatable drink for the people. Not only the Susquehanna and the Delaware but also many a lesser stream served well in early times as a means of transportation both for passengers and for freight. The smaller streams were a source of power for saw mills, grist mills and the like.

The great wealth discovered in the soil, forests and streams, which is still inexhaustible, was visible and easily appraised. But there were other vast resources in the region which were invisible at the time and which were hidden even from the imagination of the most visionary dreamers of the period. Buried beneath the soil from eons past, though sometimes outcropping at the surface, almost illimitable deposits of anthracite coal awaited the touch of a Midas to turn it into gold. The presence of this strange commodity became known to the white men late in the century. But the utility and significance as well as the extent of the deposit of what they called "stone coal" no one could conceive. The Indians had some knowledge of the nature of the hard coal but adhered to the policy of keeping their knowledge secret from the newcomers. However, Obadiah Gore, 116 who came from Connecticut in the migration in 1769, and who figured prominently in the early annals of the country, assumed a friendly attitude toward the natives and thereby gained some information from them as to the use of anthracite. Gore, who was a blacksmith, like many others of his generation, was probably the first white man to use hard coal in a blacksmith shop. After he had demonstrated the practicality of employing the "black stones," or "stone coal," in a forge, other smiths adopted its use. The most prominent of the contemporary users of the fuel was Dr. William Hooker Smith.

Dr. Smith<sup>117</sup> was forty-eight years of age when he came to Wyoming, and at the time was the only physician within a radius of seventy-five miles. During the American Revolution he was attached to the Wilkes-Barre army post. He served particularly at the Battle of Wyoming and accompanied General Sullivan in the campaign against the Indians in 1779. Between 1791 and 1798 he acquired from Pennsylvania the extensive rights to mine stone coal and iron ore within five townships. From the owners of the land he secured concessions to extract these minerals on the basis of 50% of whatever he found on their property. With the assistance of his son-in-law James Sutton, he erected a forge for the purpose of producing iron, using hard coal in the process. This was probably the first development of the sort in Northeastern Pennsylvania. Employing two fires and one trip hammer, the enterprise prospered for a while. But ultimately it failed, partly because of the small quantity and inferior quality of the iron, partly because of the advanced age of Dr. Smith, and still more because of the keen competition presented by the Slocum forge later established in Slocum Hollow (Scranton).

The location of Dr. Smith's forge was north of Pittston on the south bank of the Lackawanna river some three miles above where it empties into the Susquehanna, and stood about fifty yards easterly from the bridge over which the D. L. & W. Railroad crosses the Lackawanna river. In early times the vicinity was known as Lackawanna, or Lackawanna Forge. In course of time it was included within Lackawanna township, Lackawanna county, and was at the lower end of the borough of Old Forge, which took its name from Dr. Smith's project. The spot where the forge stood is indicated by a marker erected by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

The remains of this historic forge were visible<sup>118</sup> as late as 1925, well down the steep bank of the river. By 1940 they were hidden<sup>119</sup> by an accumulation of rubble. The industry carried on by Dr. Smith is evidence that enterprise was not lacking in those times. It was also prophetic of the immense resources that were yet to be disclosed in this part of the world. Moreover, it may be observed that certain persons who were historically associated with the early enterprises of the country were likewise associated with the beginnings of Methodism in this whole region.

The second factor that needs to be considered at this point has to do with the living conditions under which the pioneers were placed. Those conditions may be summed up in one word—privations, which were due to many causes. The people existed in a wilderness remote from any sizeable towns. There were lonely distances between neighbors. Everything was extremely primitive. The whole region had been rendered desolate by the ravage<sup>120</sup> of war and the pillage of savages. The number of widows<sup>121</sup> and orphans on the frontier was out of proportion to the number of men able to work. Even nature itself seemed bent upon frustrating whatever efforts were put forth to build or rebuild the wilderness as instanced by such floods along the Susquehanna, as, the "ice flood" of 1784, and the "pumpkin flood" two years later. Often the physical endurance and heroic efforts of the hardy settlers were their chief assets in the struggle to survive.

The log houses<sup>122</sup> in which they lived were ordinarily a one-room affair, with sometimes a loft for sleeping quarters or otherwise. They were roofed over with long slabs or "shakes" hewn by axe or adz. There were doorways but rarely any doors other than blankets to protect against the cold and snow. Sometimes wood was piled against the blankets as an added barricade against wild animals that were numerous and not easily restrained. There were window openings but seldom any glazed sashes, glass being a luxury. Frequently dirt was the only floor a house afforded. Blankets on the floor or on crude bunks served as beds. Fireplaces were the source of heat in the cold weather and were used in the preparation of meals the year around.

Food<sup>123</sup> of any sort was difficult to be had and therefore scarce. What meat

there was came chiefly from forest and stream, and consisted of such wild life as deer, bear, turkey and fish. Domestic animals were almost out of the question because of the problem of obtaining and the greater problem of maintaining anything of the sort on account of the wolves, bears and the like. The frontiersman's staple article of diet was corn which was one of the two legacies left by the red man to the white, the other being the apple orchard. As soon as sufficient land was cleared a crop of corn, or possibly of rye, was put into the soil. Because there were but few flour mills and these were sometimes fifty or more miles away, and reached only by the crudest sort of roads, it was a serious problem to have grain ground. For this reason grain was often eaten whole, or, as not infrequently occurred, it was prepared in a home-made mill124 that operated on the principle of mortar and pestle. This process called for a stump or an upright section of a log which was hollowed out to an appropriate depth. Into the wooden bowl thus fashioned the grain would be placed and then pulverized by a club or mallet which usually would be suspended from the top of a sapling that gave a backward pull each time the club was hammered into the grain. For coffee browned rye was used, and for tea the leaves of sweet fern. Potatoes formed part of the diet, though sometimes they were so scarce that after being planted they were soon dug up for food. Because of the lack of food people frequently suffered from hunger and children would cry for something to allay their perpetually unsatisfied appetite.

The hardihood of the American pioneers was often matched by others who shared with them the privations of the frontier. An instance of this is found in the story told of Martin Myers, <sup>125</sup> a Hessian soldier who preferred to remain in America rather than return to the old country. On one occasion he walked ten miles, carrying a gun, fourteen shad, and the flour from one bushel of wheat and one of rye. Then adding to this load a gallon and a pint of whiskey, a large bake kettle weighing twenty-five pounds and a cross-cut saw, he walked thirteen additional miles, following a blazed trail through the forest to his home in Rush, Susquehanna county.

The poverty of the people is reflected in their financial status. Property valuation<sup>126</sup> in Wyoming in 1780 was put at \$7,843.33 in Connecticut currency, which was only one-tenth of what it was prior to the Revolution. There was virtually no money<sup>127</sup> in circulation. Scrip was in use but was of uncertain value. Barter was the system ordinarily practiced in the exchange of commodities. For this purpose, because of their abundance and universality, maple sugar and whiskey served as the media of trade in lieu of currency. Importations commanded a high price in contrast to local produce whose valuation was low. Taxes<sup>128</sup> on certain imports, such as tea, made these articles almost unobtainable. Substitutes were devised when necessity turned men to invention. The chief occupation was that of farming, <sup>129</sup> although there were many who fol-

lowed the vocation of blacksmith. Saw mills and grist mills, which were operated by water power, as well as tanneries, gave employment to a goodly number. At the time of the Revolution the daily wage was only 50 cents.

Other elements that enter into the background of our study would surely include such factors as the population, the political organization and the moral conditions that obtained in the period and region under consideration. The number of white people in Northeastern Pennsylvania late in the eighteenth century was never large. There were several reasons for this, such as, remoteness, difficulty of travel, privations on the frontier, dangers from wild beasts and Indians, and the bitter feud between the Yankees and the Pennamites.

The New Englanders<sup>130</sup> who came at first in 1762 and again in 1763 numbered 150. But these were soon eliminated either by massacre or flight. When the first "forty" families or heads of families 131 came in 1769 there may have been 200 settlers in Wyoming, including the partisans of both factions that were presently engaged in the Yankee-Pennamite War. At this time there were only five white women<sup>132</sup> in the region. There was a marked increase in population<sup>133</sup> from 1772 to 1774. In the latter year Westmoreland, which included most of the territory under discussion, was created as a town, and numbered 1922 souls.<sup>134</sup> Two years later there were some 2,500. However, following the Battle of Wyoming in 1778 there was a general exodus<sup>135</sup> of all white people. Recovering somewhat from their fear of danger from the red men the settlers began to return, their ranks being augmented by many newcomers. Again there was an abatement in the growth of population with the resurgence of the Yankee-Pennamite War. Particularly the Trenton Decree of 1782 led to the violent expulsion<sup>136</sup> of the Connecticut people in the ensuing year. Such setbacks proved to be only temporary, serving to discourage but not to prevent the influx of New Englanders. Thus Luzerne county, which comprised much of the former Westmoreland, had a population of 4,904 in 1790. By 1800 Luzerne numbered 12,839 souls. In the same year Wayne county, which was organized in 1798, and which included the later Pike county, had a population of 2,562. The inhabitants of Northeastern Pennsylvania in the early days were predominately of Connecticut stock, with here and there settlements of Irish or German extraction.

As previously stated the Susquehanna Company<sup>138</sup> in 1770 and 1771 organized six townships, each being five miles square. These were Kingston, Wilkes-Barre, Hanover, Plymouth, Pittston and Providence. In 1799 Pennsylvania certified seventeen townships as having been set up by this company. The other eleven were Newport, Bedford, Exeter, Salem, Huntington, Putnam (Tunkhannock), Northmoreland, Braintrim, Springfield (Wyalusing), Claverack and Ulster. In the counties as now organized the seventeen townships were distributed as follows: in Bradford—Ulster, Claverack and Wyalusing; in Wyom-

ing—Braintrim, Tunkhannock and Northmoreland; and in Luzerne—Kingston, Wilkes-Barre, Hanover, Plymouth, Pittston, Bedford, Newport, Exeter, Salem and Huntington. The last two were outside the territory now under consideration. Mathews names Athens as another township that had been formed. Of the 53 lots into which each township was divided one was set aside for a school, another for a church, and a third for the first minister who settled in the town. As early as 1773 each township that was set up had at least one director or peace officer. Obadiah Gore and Parshall Terry served in Kingston, Obadiah Gore, Jr., in Wilkes-Barre, and Gideon Baldwin in Providence.

The original personnel<sup>139</sup> that settled in Kingston township included: Isaac Tripp, Jonathan Dean, Timothy Pierce, Thomas Bennett, Asahel Atherton, John Jenkins, Benjamin Yale, Stephen Jenkins, Nathan Dennison, Samuel Gaylord, Henry Tripp, Silas Bingham, Joshua Hall, Benjamin Follett, Job Yale, Benjamin Shoemaker, Stephen Gardner, Abel Yarrington, Asa Cole, Daniel Hoyt, Ezekiel Pierce, Zebulon Butler, John Dorrance, Anning Owen, Noah Pettibone, Oliver Pettibone, Parshall Terry, Luke and Belding Swetland, Lebbeus Tubbs, John Jenkins, Lawrence Myers, Ezra Dean, Elijah Loveland and Benjamin Carpenter. These heads of families were all New Englanders; all took part in the contemporary scene, and many helped to make Methodist history. Their holdings extended from below Market street in Kingston to the lower portion of the present Wyoming borough.

Hanover township which extended from the lower end of Wilkes-Barre to Nanticoke had a sprinkling of Yankees but included people from Southeastern Pennsylvania as well as from Germany, France and Switzerland. A map<sup>140</sup> of the early land holders lists the following names: Nathan Waller, Jacob Rosencrans, John Harris, Alexander Jameson, Josiah Stewart, Francis Stewart, Jacob Roberts, Matthias Hollenback, Jeremiah Carey, John Carey, Comfort Carey, N. Wade, Gideon Baldwin, Jeremiah Vandemark, Richard Inman, Wm. Shoemaker, Conrad Wickiser, J. Shoemaker, Wm. Caldwell, Wm. Ross, Edward Spencer, Christian Solun(?), Richard Dilly, Calvin Hibbard, J. P. Leclerc, Lazarus Stewart, H. A. Chambers, C. A. Colt, George Frazer, John Robins, Abraham Adams, C. Garrison, Ishmael Bennett, Edward Inman, B. Carey, James Wright, E. R. Waller, Elisha Blackman, Benjamin Perry, Wm. Edgerton, Gideon Burrell, Stephen Burret, Fred'k Crisman, J. Burret, Willis Hyde, Rufus Bennett, N. Hurburt, Abraham Bradley, Lord Butler, James Stewart, Abraham Sarner, Jonas Bursh, Joseph Horsefield, Josiah Pelt, Andrew Lee, James Campbell, E. Treadway, Conrad Lines, George Espy, Andrew McClintock, Hugh Foresman, Wm. Stewart, Nathaniel Warden, Charles Parrish and Wm. Vandemark. Several of these names appear elsewhere in the annals of the early times. Certain of the groups were identified with the beginnings of Methodism in this part of the state.

Soon after the issuance of the Declaration of Independence the proprietary government was succeeded by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania which began to function under its own laws. By the end of the Revolution Westmoreland<sup>141</sup> ceased to be recognized as a political unit. In 1786, the year before Pennsylvania ratified the Federal Constitution, the county of Luzerne<sup>142</sup> was erected. This covered essentially the same area as Westmoreland, the name given by the Connecticut company. Northumberland, the name given by the Proprietaries, covered all of Northeastern Pennsylvania. One reason for the organizing of Luzerne was to foil a proposal of the New England partisans to form a new State under the leadership of Ethan Allen, the famous Vermonter who originally had been a Connecticut Yankee. As then described the county's northern boundary was the line between New York and Pennsylvania, beginning six miles west of the Delaware river and running to a point fifteen miles west of the North Branch of the Susquehanna river where that river begins its course down through the State. The western boundary paralleled the river on the west at a distance of fifteen miles in a southerly direction, ultimately swinging back to the river at a point opposite the mouth of the Nescopeck creek, some twentyfive miles below Wilkes-Barre. On the south and east the boundary followed the general course of the Nescopeck creek and then the Lehigh river to a point from which it struck north to the place of beginning. It included the present counties of Luzerne, Lackawanna, Wyoming and Susquehanna, besides most of Bradford and small parts of Columbia and Sullivan counties. May 27, 1787, the first county court<sup>143</sup> assembled at the home of Col. Zebulon Butler. Besides the colonel seven others were in attendance, namely: Timothy Pickering, James Nesbitt, Obadiah Gore, Nathan Kingsley, Benjamin Carpenter, Matthias Hollenback and Dr. Wm. Hooker Smith. These were sworn in by Timothy Pickering and Col. Nathan Dennison. Some others who served subsequently were: Messrs. Avery, Beach, Dana, Dennison and Franklin. Some of these honorable men in the course of their lives were servants of the church as well as of the state.

As previously indicated the lands of the Delaware company were bounded on the north and on the south respectively by the 42nd and 41st parallels and extended from the Delaware river to their western boundary which was ten miles east of and parallel to the Susquehanna river. As the western boundary of the Delaware company was also the eastern boundary of the Susquehanna company it may be seen that Luzerne county absorbed portions of the holdings of each of the two companies. East of Luzerne was the northern part of Northampton<sup>144</sup> county from which Wayne was formed in 1798, Pike<sup>145</sup> being a later division of Wayne.

Most of the early settlers in Northeastern Pennsylvania had a religious background, the Pennamites being Quakers for the most part, and the Yankees

being largely Puritans and Congregationalists. In some parts of this region serious effort was made to enforce the strictures of Puritanism, such as Sabbath observance. However, moral conditions<sup>146</sup> were at a low ebb. The quietism of the Quakers and the Calvinism of the Congregationalists not only did not help to elevate the moral tone but on the contrary impeded any movement in that direction. At the same time the very factors that explain the poverty of the people were related to their low moral standards. The strenuous efforts required for mere physical survival tended to stifle every impulse toward higher living. The immoralities common to frontier settlements in every age prevailed in the Wyoming country. These were accentuated by the immoralities that are the normal aftermath of wars. Mingled with all of this were the hates that had been engendered by the many bitter conflicts—hates that made it impossible to entertain high ideals and pure motives.

One of the most prevalent forms of vice was that of intemperance.<sup>147</sup> Hard liquor was abundant everywhere. Its use as a beverage was accepted as a matter of course and as an appropriate custom of the period. Lack of transportation made it difficult to market the corn and rye that were raised in excess of their demand as food. These grains were therefore converted into liquor. Frequently the persons who operated the many distilleries scattered about the country were leading citizens who were held in high respect. Because of the difficulties of travel and the distances between houses along the highway it was almost inevitable that every such house afforded hospitality to travelers, though not always for pay. Many of the homes were of a very humble sort but made up with cordiality what was lacking in food and accommodations. Generally houses where people were kept over night were called "taverns," whether they dispensed liquor or not. Mostly liquor was to be had. The conditions of the times conspired to make the use of spiritous drinks the common practice. Moreover, many considered that the malt house and the brewery were needful "for the general welfare."

Although as the century approached its close there was a more earnest effort "to suppress<sup>148</sup> vice and immorality that so much abounds among us," there is evidence that in the earlier days laxity prevailed both as to compliance with the laws and as to their enforcement. Many of the laws were severe, especially such as had a Puritan origin. Yet these laws seem to have had little effect in deterring the committal of crime, as is shown in contemporary records. <sup>149</sup> For instance, in 1782, a man who stole a deer skin valued at nineteen shillings was ordered by the court to render two years' service to the man from whom he had stolen it, not being able to pay in cash for the damages and costs. The December court of the same year entered this verdict: "Mary Pritchard is found guilty of unnecessarily going from her place of abode on the Lord's Day, on the 10th of November last: therefore, Ordered that she pay a fine of five

shillings, lawful money, into the town treasury, and costs." Another penalty imposed in that period was in the case of a man who was convicted of stealing, and who was ordered to "receive ten stripes, well administered, on his naked back." Such verdicts indicate the desperate plight of the law enforcement agencies as well as the inadequacy of law to cope with errant citizens when moral standards are low.

Though the laws made a show of maintaining morality and religion, there was a pitiful lack of such restraint as properly proceeds from religion itself. Bangs'<sup>150</sup> remark that conditions in the colonies were more favorable to religion than in pagan lands inasmuch as the colonists had a Christian background, made laws that recognized the Christian religion and also made provisions for the church is entirely beside the point. His premises may be correct, but his conclusions are faulty. Two questions force themselves upon us. The first is: How Christian was the background of the colonists? The second is: How nearly did they approximate the spirit and teachings of Christianity? The most that can be said is that the conditions<sup>151</sup> on the frontier were so deplorable that they afforded a rich soil for evangelism. Accentuating the regrettable situation was the fact that opposition to religion and public worship was open and unashamed. It was also an age in which infidelity<sup>152</sup> had its avowed and aggressive devotees.

# II. Preliminary Religious Movements

### ANTECEDENT AND CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

PRIOR TO AND COINCIDENT with Methodism's introduction into the Wyoming country religious activities were carried on under the auspices of certain other sponsors. In some instances these activities were competitive with or even antagonistic toward it. But by and large they helped to pave the way for the objectives represented by Methodism. The earliest and most aggressive efforts were those carried on among the Indians, to which reference will be made later. These efforts were the expression of the zeal manifested on both sides of the Atlantic, near the middle of the eighteenth century, for the evangelization1 of the American natives. Although the work carried on by the Moravians<sup>2</sup> was the most outstanding, they were not the only ones whose devotion led them into this type of missionary endeavor. Very shortly after the beginning of the Moravian missions in Wyoming Presbyterian missionaries<sup>3</sup> also entered the field. In 1744 the Reverend David Brainerd and the Reverend Mr. Bayram arrived from New York and established a mission on the Wapwallopen creek at the lower end of the Valley. On the death of the former his brother John Brainerd succeeded him in the work, which continued until the breaking out of the French and Indian War. To say that the various missionaries confined their endeavors to the natives would be an overstatement. To assert that when the Indians passed forever out of the region there also passed all vestiges of the work accomplished would be contrary to fact. Beyond question there were religious values that survived the changes in periods and populations such that the achievements of the former years made contributions to the work that was vet to be done.

Some time before the Indians removed from the Wyoming country successive tides of white immigration had begun. With the advent of the new peoples religious establishments<sup>4</sup> of several sorts appeared. From the southern and southeastern part of the state representatives from at least three distinct denominations found their way to Wyoming. The first of these included the adherents or descendents of the Proprietors, who normally were Quakers and resided below Wilkes-Barre. The second group consisted of the "Pennsylvania Dutch," who in reality were not Dutch but German, and who were largely Lutheran. The third was made up of people of Scotch-Irish lineage, who were of the Presby-

terian persuasion. To these three contingents should be added a fourth that came from New York and New Jersey. These newcomers included the true Dutch who traditionally were identified with the Reformed church, though some were Presbyterians.

The first building set apart for religious purposes in all this region was constructed by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who in 1774 or 1775 erected a humble edifice in Hanover Green. Within a few years the structure fell into decay and was never rebuilt. Into the neighborhood in 1790 came the Reverend Elias Benscotten<sup>5</sup> (Benschotten), a Dutch Reformed minister from the Hudson valley, who in the following year organized what has been called variously a Congregational and a Presbyterian church but which presumably was a Reformed church. In 1792 he was followed by the Reverend Andrew Gray, an able and eloquent Irishman from Poughkeepsie, who later returned to New York, Not till 1825 did the Reformed congregation build themselves a place of worship. Within Hanover the Congregationalists before the turn of the century attempted to build a church. Though never completed it was used for a score of years. The fact that the people of those days had, or did not have, a church edifice was no criterion by which to judge their religious life. They themselves had but the crudest kind of habitations in which to live. Their cabins had to serve a variety of purposes including that of the public worship of God. Indeed, in the warmer weather they frequently held their religious services out of doors and had the arching trees for their temples.

By all odds the Congregational<sup>6</sup> denomination was numerically stronger than any other at the time and in the region under consideration. This was to be expected from the fact that the larger proportion of the population was from New England where Congregationalism was predominant. From the beginning both the Susquehanna and the Delaware companies made special provisions for cultivation of religion on the frontier. Among other things it was provided? that in each township in Westmoreland there should be set aside one lot of three hundred acres for a church and an equal assignment for a parsonage. The latter lot was to be the possession of the first minister to settle in the township, as partial support for himself and his family. In addition the settlers were urged to help the minister "with sustenance according to their best ability." Although it seems not to have been stipulated that the recipient of these benefits must be a Congregational minister, evidently the presumption was that he would be. In more than one instance the person in question was not of that religious persuasion, as is shown in the case of the Reverend William Marsh,8 a Baptist minister, who in 1763 accompanied the first and ill fated effort at settlement in Wyoming, and who perished in the massacre of that year. It is true that this venture occurred before the township plans were formulated. The Reverend George Beckwith, who was a Congregationalist, accompanied the immigration

of 1769, but remained only about a year. A few other clergymen adventured into Wyoming for short periods, among them being the Reverend Elkanah Holmes. Special mention should be made of the Reverend Noah Wadhams who graduated from Princeton in 1754 and who received his master's degree from Yale ten years later. Establishing himself in Plymouth in 1772, he preached there as well as in Kingston. After some years of retirement his death occurred in 1806.

One of the earliest and surely the most noted Congregational minister of the time was Reverend Jacob Johnson,9 an eccentric but earnest preacher familiarly known as "Priest Johnson." Born in Connecticut in 1713 and graduating from Yale at the age of twenty-seven, he entered the ministry in 1743. Influenced by "the great awakening," and touched by the preaching of George Whitefield, he decided to become a missionary to the Indians at a time when their evangelization was being strongly agitated by leading churchmen on both sides of the Atlantic. After working among the natives in New England Johnson entered upon labors among the Iroquois. Thus he came to learn of the transactions of the historic Council at Ft. Stanwix in 1768, and of the deal by which the Penn people fraudulently purchased from the Indians the land rights previously purchased by the Susquehanna and Delaware companies. Johnson reported his discoveries in the East, resigned from the missionary work and came to Wilkes-Barre. In 1773, at the age of sixty, he became the first pastor of the Congregational church in that place, and continued in that relation for nearly a score of years, at times also shepherding other flocks in the vicinity. At the conclusion of the Battle of Wyoming he assisted Col. Nathan Dennison in drawing up the terms of capitulation. Soon afterward he and his family fled to Connecticut, but returned to Wyoming in 1781. Johnson made earnest but futile efforts to adjust the differences between the Yankees and the Proprietaries. Indeed, following the Trenton Decree of 1782 he was himself dispossessed of the home which his parishioners had provided for him at the beginning of his pastorate. For many years he and his flock worshipped in a very humble building. Though he agitated long for a more suitable edifice, his death in 1797 prevented him from witnessing the realization of his hopes.

After the migration of the Indians westward and the abandonment of the Moravian mission at Friedenshutten, the first recorded religious service<sup>10</sup> held in that vicinity was at the home of Mrs. Lucretia Miner York who lived in Terrytown on the west side of the river from Wyalusing. Her husband, Amos York, had been captured by the Indians and Tories and had subsequently died. The service mentioned was conducted in 1785 by an old gentleman by the name of Gideon Baldwin of Browntown, just below Wyalusing. Tradition has it that prior to this date Jacob Johnson, of Wilkes-Barre, had preached in the same house on occasional visits. At the time Mr. Baldwin initiated his services

he and Mrs. Baldwin and Mrs. York were the only confessed Christians in the section. Their scattered neighbors were invited to attend subsequent meetings which were held at intervals. From among these and the newcomers who arrived in greater numbers accessions were made to the Christian community. With the increase in attendance on religious services Sabbath desecration decreased, profanity abated, the moral tone of the vicinity was elevated and much good was done. Though the desolation and physical poverty left in the wake of the various conflicts were not relieved immediately, they were made more tolerable. At the same time the bitterness and spiritual poverty left from the same conflicts were mitigated.

In the process of the development of this Christian body the Reverend Ira Condit, an itinerant missionary, visited the people occasionally and on June 30, 1793, organized the First Presbyterian<sup>11</sup> church in Wyalusing, with a large area as its parish, and a charter membership of thirteen. The following year ten other members were added under the leadership of another missionary, the Reverend Noble Judd. Among the early members were Reuben Wells, who became a deacon, and his wife Abagail. Another was Mrs. York's son, Manasseh Miner York, who often read printed sermons to the congregation in the absence of a regular pastor. The records show that in 1795 the Reverend Daniel Thatcher, who visited the congregation, received \$4.06 by way of remuneration for his services. This was a fair amount, all things considered; for the people were poor, lived far apart, had but little cleared land in the wilderness, rarely possessed any currency, and made most payments in produce. Meetings were held in a log school house which stood near where the Presbyterian edifice was later erected. Though at first the organization was Presbyterian, it afterward became Congregational when M. M. York entered the ministry and became pastor of the church. Still later it reverted to the original denominational relationship. In connection with this alternation in ecclesiastical systems it is to be noted that whereas most of the early churches in Northeastern Pennsylvania began as Congregational, they later changed to Presbyterian polity. In doctrines these denominations were essentially alike, each holding to the Calvinistic teachings. The chief differences between them were in methods of administration and in inter-church relations among themselves.

Soon after the Revolution the upper reaches of the Susquehanna within Pennsylvania became more populous than at any previous time. This was due in part to the return of most of the former settlers<sup>12</sup> and in part to the influx of others from the East. There were also many who went north from the Wyoming Valley, having relinquished their disputed land claims in that area. It was their hope that by making this change they might find lands with clear titles, but they were doomed to disappointment. Nevertheless, this shifting of

population had the effect of bringing to the northern country some of its most desirable citizens.

It should be said in praise of the early missionaries that wherever the pioneer settlers went there the missionaries followed. One of the earliest of these devoted men who adventured along the upper Susquehanna was the Reverend Jabez Culver, a Congregationalist, who in the spring of 1791 began work some seventyfive miles up the river from Wilkes-Barre. On Oct. 3 of that year he preached in the home of Jehiel Franklin, near Wysox, and organized "The Church of Christ in Wysox." To the six persons who were then received into membership eight others were added shortly afterward. The Reverend Ebenezer Martin served the congregation the ensuing year. Otherwise no minister's name is associated with this church for some time. Among the early members of the Wysox church was Solomon Franklin, son of Jehiel, Another was Jonas Smith who in 1795 transferred his membership elsewhere and subsequently entered the ministry. On Nov. 5, 1791, Samuel and Dorothy Cole, lately from Massachusetts, united with the Wysox church. They were living in "Macedonia" on the west side of the river just below Towanda. In their home Methodist and other itinerants often found a haven. Their son Elisha became a Methodist preacher.

It was characteristic of the homes on the frontier that no matter how humble they were they extended hospitality to the itinerant preachers of all faiths, who dispensed the gospel as they went from place to place. Thus it is that the names<sup>13</sup> of several persons associated with the Wysox church appear in the Journal of William Colbert, the pioneer Methodist preacher, as being the names of families at whose homes he stopped more or less regularly on his journeys through that region. This is true of the Coles, the Smiths and the Franklins already mentioned. It is also true of Adam Mann whose daughter was a member of the Wysox church. To these names could be added several more, such as that of the Hortons, who lived near Breakneck Hill, and that of the Townsends, who lived on Sugar Creek near North Towanda. The coming of these traveling preachers was a benediction to the homes that accorded them hospitality and enriched the lives of the respective families without necessarily disengaging any members from the churches with which they were affiliated. In confirmation of this statement it may be pointed out that the Wysox Presbyterian church had enrolled thirty-nine members by May 4, 1794, less than three years after it was organized.

Prior to the Revolution there was no settled minister in the vicinity of Tioga Point (Athens), and little, if any preaching. The Reverend Samuel Kirkland<sup>14</sup> and other chaplains who accompanied Sullivan's army preached to civilians as well as to soldiers while in this region. Not for many years did the locality have an organized church, although the preachers of various sects visited it from time to time, including Jabez Culver, previously mentioned. An exception to

this statement is in the case of the Reverend Noah Murray, a Universalist minister, who in 1790 established himself at Tioga Point. Until his death in 1811 at the age of seventy-four he proved to be rather successful in propagating the tenets of his church. Branching out at Old Sheshequin (Ulster), he secured accessions from some of the leading families, such as, the Parks, the Kinneys, and the Kingsburys. However, the work he fostered proved not to be permanent.

In what was to become Susquehanna county there were but few settlers till late in the eighteenth century. Of the two dozen people, 15 including children, who came to Great Bend in 1788, sixteen were church members. These were the Reverend Daniel Buck, a Congregational minister, and his wife; Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Murch; Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Bates; Deacon and Mrs. Ozias Strong; Deacon and Mrs. Enoch Merryman and their son Bishop Merryman; Deacon and Mrs. Jonathan Bennett and their son Jonathan, Jr. The following year there was a religious revival which proved a stimulation to the membership and intensified their concern for better moral conditions and for the stricter observance of the Sabbath. However, in 1790 a misunderstanding between the Reverend Mr. Buck and Stephen Murch resulted in a schism in the church. In the early seventeen-nineties the Reverend Seth Williston, sent out by the Connecticut Missionary Society, preached occasionally in Great Bend. Aided by another missionary he here organized the first church in the county in 1792. Six years later there were forty members, including those from "the lower settlement," (Conklin.)

Of the increasing number of settlers in the county one group is of especial interest. This is the company of nine young men<sup>16</sup> from Attleboro, Mass., who in May, 1790, arrived in the present town of Harford and bought a tract of land in dimensions one mile by four, which they divided among themselves. These men, whose ages ranged from twenty-five to thirty years, banded themselves together under the title of the "Nine Partners." They were: Hosea Tiffany, Caleb Richardson, Ezekiel Titus, Robert Follet, John Carpenter, Moses Thatcher, Daniel Carpenter, Samuel Thatcher and Joseph Carpenter, Only Tiffany, Titus and Follet were married. At first they stayed on their properties just through seed time and harvest but from 1792 forward they made their stay permanent. In the ensuing years several others joined themselves with the Nine Partners, constituting a community whose members evidenced marked intelligence, high moral character and great energy. Many of them were pronounced Christians. In 1794 and subsequently they were visited by the Reverend Mr. Buck, who preached in a bark-covered cabin. Soon the company formed the habit of meeting each Sabbath in certain homes for the purpose of reading the Scriptures and printed sermons. Meantime other itinerants preached among them occasionally. In 1800 a Congregational church was organized, oddly enough, by a Presbyterian missionary from New Jersey, the Reverend Jedediah Chapman. Seven persons constituted the charter membership, namely, Mr. and Mrs. Obadiah Carpenter, Obadiah Carpenter, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. John Tyler, John Thatcher and Miss Mary Thatcher. All were received by certificate from Attleboro, where the Reverend Peter Thatcher, father of Mrs. John Titus and relative of the other Thatchers, was pastor.

As early as 1773 there were Baptists<sup>17</sup> in Kingston township, who were served by the Rev. Mr. Gray, a minister not to be confused with the Reverend Andrew Gray, of Hanover, already mentioned. In 1786 this minister initiated work in Pittston township, where the Reverend James Benedict organized a congregation in the fall of the same year. Successive Baptist ministers were the Reverends James Finn and William Bishop. In 1787 the Reverends Benedict, Finn and Gray formed a congregation in Plymouth. Among their converts at that point were Joel and Jonah Rogers who became preachers. Their sister Hannah was the wife of Griffin Lewis who also became a preacher and was associated with the Rogers brothers in the Baptist ministry. These three were instrumental in laying the foundations of Baptist work in Union, Jackson, Lehman and other parts of the old Luzerne county. In these achievements they were assisted by the Reverend Jacob Drake who together with the Reverend Roswell Goff arrived in the county from New England about 1790. In the same year the Reverend Samuel Sturdevant, of Connecticut, joined forces with the Reverends Bishop, Drake and Goff in an itinerant ministry that included settlements in the Wyoming Valley and elsewhere. Bishop,18 who was an earnest but eccentric Englishman, settled in the township of Providence in 1794, occupying a 300-acre plot according to the Connecticut plan. His solitary log house was in the eastern part of what is now the Hyde Park section of Scranton, and overlooking Capoose. His land "extended over the marsh or pond" where now is the central part of the city itself.

Sturdevant,<sup>19</sup> who was a large and muscular man and a veteran of the Revolution, was ordained a Baptist minister when he was past fifty years of age, and settled in "Black Walnut Bottom," above Meshoppen. This energetic preacher wielded great influence among the people of the frontier, and in 1794 organized in the town of Braintrim a Baptist church whose members lived as far upstream as Wyalusing. The same year "Elder"—the title frequently applied especially to Baptist clergymen—Smiley appeared in Wyalusing where he preached, as well as "up the (Wyalusing) creek." Two years later the "New Bedford" parish extended from Braintrim to Owego, N. Y., and was served by another former Revolutionary soldier, the Reverend David Jayne. He, however, lost standing after he adopted the doctrine of annihilation. At this time the Chemung Association, comprising churches from below Wyalusing to the foot of Seneca Lake, numbered 111 members.

Even prior to the activities just described Baptists between Towanda and Athens had been holding meetings alternately on each side of the river from about 1791. The earliest known "supply" preacher in this section was the Reverend Moses Park, who came from Connecticut in 1792. When he presently began to espouse Universalist beliefs a schism developed between the members of his congregation. Though some of his partisans followed him out of the Baptist fold, others remained loyal to the tenets of their own church. Among the latter were such prominent people as Joseph and Lockwood Smith, brothers, and the wife of Judge Gore.

In that part of Northeastern Pennsylvania adjacent to the Delaware and its tributaries religious activities were belated. Doubtless this was due to the fact that actual settlement of this part of the state was belated. It served as a country through which rather than to which people came in quest of home sites. It furnished well worn paths along which trudged the pioneers who had heard the call of the Wyoming. From whatever point where they crossed the Delaware they ultimately converged upon "the old wilderness road" and journeyed along the Wallenpaupack creek, through the Little Meadows and on over Cobb's Mountain to their chosen destinations. For this reason here was a region that was lacking in population, slow in political development and negligible in religious expression.

At the turn of the century Wayne county had a population<sup>20</sup> of only about 2,500, whereas the population of Luzerne county was five times as great without an area proportionately large. It was not till 1798 that Wayne<sup>21</sup> was formed from Northampton county. Sixteen years later Pike was formed from Wayne. The New England Congregationalists who predominated elsewhere in Wyoming were scarcely represented in this section aside from the occasional visits of some of their missionaries. The work of the Presbyterians was likewise inconspicuous in the vicinity of the Delaware. Into this unpromising field the General Assembly sent workers on rare occasions. One of these visitants was the Reverend Daniel Thatcher who on July 9, 1797, administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at a service in Mount Pleasant. In spite of the lack of pastoral service of any sort the religious life of the people was maintained on a commendable level through their own personal efforts and initiative. In various settlements they were wont to gather for worship on Sundays when a sermon would be read by someone of their own number. They also adhered to the rigid observance of the Sabbath and preserved high standards of morality.

The religious group that appears to have been the most numerous as well as the most active in the county of Wayne even before it was so set up was that of the Baptists, particularly the Free Communion Baptists. The pioneering work was done by a layman, Samuel Preston, who together with his wife was a member of the Free Communion Baptist church. His activities dated from 1791 and were carried on in the town of Mount Pleasant where he lived. The coming

of others in 1793 made public worship possible, the little colony maintaining religious services "without benefit of clergy."

Presumably the lines were not closely drawn between the Close Communion and the Free Communion Baptist denominations. It is said that the first sermon delivered in Wayne county was by the Reverend David Jayne, a Baptist preacher residing on the Tunkhannock creek, who preached the sermon in Mount Pleasant in July, 1795. The following year a Free Communion Baptist church with six members was organized in that place. In 1800 the Reverend Epaphras Thompson became the resident pastor. Elsewhere in the county Baptists sponsored religious projects. "Elder" Purdy<sup>22</sup> in 1792 settled in Paupack which was originally a part of Palmyra township. Residing in "Purdyville," or "Purdytown," he not only served the Baptists in Palmyra but also in other surrounding places. As early as 1795 the Reverend Ezekiel Sampson, a minister of the same denomination, conducted services in the northern part of the county, in Scott township. A regular Baptist church was formed in Palmyra<sup>23</sup> in 1801, and another in Mount Pleasant six years later.

In 1802 the Reverend John Miller, a Baptist minister, sometimes known as "the marrying parson," moved from Connecticut and settled in the town of Abington, Lackawanna county. Gathering a congregation about himself, he ministered to this people for more than half a century, during which time he is said to have baptized 2,000 persons, married 912 couples and officiated at 1800 funerals. In December, 1807, the Abington Baptist Association was organized in his home. Among the delegates who were present on this occasion were the Reverends Elijah Purdy, Epaphras Thompson, Samuel Sturdevant and Davis Dimock, as well as a licentiate from Exeter, Joel Rogers.

### THE MORAVIAN MISSIONS—ZINZENDORF AND WESLEY

Though the Province of Pennsylvania was established by Quakers, who constituted a considerable group, they carried on no aggressive religious work in Northeastern Pennsylvania. The earliest activities were those promoted by the Moravians<sup>24</sup> who projected missions among the Indians, beginning before the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1741 they laid out the town of Bethlehem on the Lehigh river. Two years later they took over the school for Negroes that had been started by George Whitefield in nearby Nazareth, but which after four years of effort had to be closed and the property disposed of because of insuperable difficulties. Meantime, on Dec. 2, 1741, Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf arrived in America to carry forward the work among the Indians, which the Moravians had initiated as early as 1733. The Count, who believed that the American Indians were descendants of the ten "lost tribes" of Israel, adventured among the natives on various occasions. On his third trip he pene-

trated more deeply into the wilderness, following up the Susquehanna to Wyoming. Aside from the traders he was one of the first white men to enter this region, and was surely the first missionary to visit the natives in this part of the country. He began his work here with an effort to evangelize the Shawnees. But they did not receive the Count kindly, doubting his statement that he had crossed the ocean to teach them the Christian religion. Believing rather that he had some ulterior motive, they plotted his death. His deliverance from the hands of his intended assassins is explained by some authorities as due to the awe inspired in them as they, unobserved, beheld an unusual scene when they peered into his tent on that September evening. While they gazed at the missionary as he sat on a bundle of weeds before a fire, absorbed in writing, a large rattlesnake, made lively by the heat, crawled over his feet and slithered away. This convinced the beholders that the Count was under the protection of the Great Spirit, and paved the way for a successful mission of three weeks. However, Spangenberg<sup>25</sup> gives quite a different account of the snake story and declares the Indian plot was frustrated by the sudden appearance of Zinzendorf's colleague and interpreter John Martin Mack who, together with his wife, attended the Count on this mission. Based on his own diary26 Mack states that while he was with the Count in Wyoming from early October to early November, 1742, he one day came upon the missionary as he was seated in his tent looking over papers that were scattered about him. Seeing two "blowers," a kind of adder, basking at the edge of the tent, Mack, fearing they might enter the tent and imperil the Count, endeavored to kill them. The snakes, which really were harmless, were too swift for him and, gliding into the tent, crawled over "the Disciple's" thigh, disappearing among the papers. It was discovered that Zinzendorf had been seated near the mouth of a den of snakes. Later the Indians stated that the spot was close to an old Indian burying ground. There could have been no marked impression made upon the red men, for Mack recorded that the mission was a failure. When in 1744 Mack was accompanied to Wyoming by Christian Froelich on a four-day mission there were fewer Indians than two years earlier, many having moved to the West. However, those whom they did find were friendlier than before. Although the hopes of Zinzendorf were never fully realized, in the ensuing years the Moravian missions did much good among the various groups of Indians.

In 1746 when Bishop Spangenberg visited Wyoming the conversions that were made were chiefly among the Mohicans. When the missionaries came two years later they found the Indians experiencing a famine that verged on starvation. By this time so many Indians had gone to Ohio there were but few left excepting the Nanticokes. On Oct. 7 of this year Holy Communion was administered for the first time in the Wyoming Valley. Some Indians still remembered the coming of Zinzendorf. In 1750 Bishop Camerhoff and David Zeisberger on

their way to Onondaga stopped at the mission for eight days, halting again on their way back to Shamokin (Sunbury). Three years later came Christian Seidel, and then Zeisberger once more. In 1754 Mack and Roessler paid a visit in the month of June. The following month Bernhard Adam Grube and Carl Gottfried Rundt were on the scene, and performed the right of baptism, the first instance in the Valley, the subject being a squaw. The missionaries were cordially welcomed by Chief Paxinos, of the Shawnees, as well as by various groups of Indians and their chiefs on both sides of the river. The religious experiences of the natives were apparently genuine. Bible names were accepted at baptism by many of them, notably the chiefs. Such names as Abraham, Moses, Gideon, etc., identified Indians as Christian converts. "Abraham's Plains," above Forty Fort, and "Jacob's Plains," above Wilkes-Barre, take their titles from chiefs who adopted the names of patriarchs. Toward the end of 1754 Zeisberger and Post were working in the Valley.

Thrice during the following year Mack came into the region and preached to the Indians in the Minisinks and elsewhere. Previously he had noted in his diary the intimations of the impending conflict which began in 1755, and which found the Indians arrayed with the French against the colonists in general and against the British in particular. Many of the converts remained loyal to the faith they had espoused in spite of the hostility they incurred among the non-Christian Indians. Fleeing from Wyoming they found refuge at Gnadenhutten, ("tents of grace,") near Lehighton, on the Lehigh. Some did fall away, however, including Chief Teedyuscung<sup>27</sup> and Chief Abraham whose full name was Abraham Shebash. The former was born about 1700 and was the able chief of a Delaware tribe for a score of years prior to his death by assassination in 1763 after the close of the French and Indian War. Though temporarily he sided against the whites during the war, he ultimately urged the Moravians to carry on their work in Wyoming and also to establish schools.

Zeisberger came into the Valley in March, 1762, to confer with Chief Teedy-uscung about a treaty of peace. Again he came in November to confer with Chief Abraham, who, he had learned, was ill. This visit was too late as the chief had just died. The Moravian missionary Christian Frederick Post helped to arrange for a council that actually worked out the conditions of peace in 1763.

Following the tragic death of Chief Teedyuscung, and particularly after the white people began more definitely to move into Northeastern Pennsylvania, the Delawares<sup>28</sup> quit the Wyoming Valley, moving into the wilds of the Susquehanna country. Although the establishments at Gnadenhutten and Wyoming were renewed, the later Moravian work was centered at M'chwihilusing, an Indian village near Wyalusing. Here on May 20, 1760, was preached the first Christian sermon in what became Bradford county. The preacher was Christian Frederick Post, a Polish Prussian, who was enroute to a Great Council in the

North. His text was Luke 2:8-11, in which is related the angel's announcement of the birth of Jesus to the shepherds. Three years later Zeisberger conducted a preaching mission at this place. In early summer he made another visit, and on June 26 he performed the first baptismal ceremony to occur in this part of the world. The person baptized was Papenhank, a Monsey chief, who had come into contact with Christians in Philadelphia and elsewhere. The day after Zeisberger had arrived John Woolman, a Quaker evangelist, put in his appearance. His stay, however, was short, for the Indians made clear their preference for the Moravian missions. But when the red men, upon the urgent appeal of Pontiac, threatened new dangers, Zeisberger was recalled to Bethlehem. The Christian Indians refused to fight against the whites and were taken for safety to Philadelphia by the Provincial government.

Returning to the mouth of the Wyalusing Creek in 1765, the evangelized Indians reestablished themselves and laid out a planned village in which they built homes comparable to those of the settlers. In recognition of the peace that had come the community was named Friedenshutten ("tents of peace,") which was made official by the Provincial synod in 1766. A year later the village was moved to higher ground where a church was erected, the first in the region. In this edifice, which boasted a bell, religious services were maintained by the Moravians. Many of the practices and institutions of Christian civilization were adopted. In addition to the ample hunting and fishing enjoyed by the Indians they raised a variety of vegetables and animal stock, selling the surplus. The Christian character and the prosperity of these people resulted in visitations by many guests.

In 1767 Bishop John Ettwein arrived in Wyoming from Bethlehem, having taken the route over the Blue Mountains by way of the "Pine Swamp" and across the headwaters of the Lehigh. This was but one of the many trips he took between the two points. His journal states that on this first adventure he "rode up the east bank of the Susquehanna, through a large flat, nine miles to Lackawanna ('Lechawanna-hanneck'), where there was a large town up to 1755, where our missionaries occasionally preached. It is now totally deserted by Indians." The absence of Indians in this section, which Ettwein noted in 1767, was due to a great many causes, not the least of which were destitution, drunkenness and disease. Other Moravian missionaries who from time to time labored among the Indians included Heckewelder, Butler, Seidel, Schmick and Fry.

Some thirty miles up the river from Wyalusing was the small Indian village of Schechschiquanunk<sup>29</sup> (Old Sheshequin, later Ulster), comprising a dozen huts. Some interest was manifested there in the Christian religion as early as 1766. Thither in May of the following year went Jo Peepe, or Peepy, from New Jersey, with his wife and several children. Jo had been baptized by one Brainerd,

a Presbyterian missionary, and joined with others in persuading the Moravians to establish work in their village on account of the inconvenience of going to Wyalusing. Accordingly the place was recognized as an outlying station of Wyalusing and was soon visited by John Rothe. Although some of the Indians showed hostility to the Christian religion, others accepted this way of life under the ministry of Ettwein the Moravian or of Brainerd the Presbyterian. At this point there were 58 communicants in 1770 and 60 in 1771.

Several factors contributed toward the liquidation of all missions among the Indians in Northeastern Pennsylvania. One of these was the encroachment of white immigration with all the drunkenness and immorality that characterized frontier settlements. Another was the pressure brought to bear by the Iroquois in the north, particularly after the Iroquois in 1768 had invalidated the land claims of the Connecticut people in favor of the Proprietaries, making land tenure insecure in the whole region. Thus the doom of the mission stations was sealed. In June, 1771, Indian Christians to the number of 211 migrated to western Pennsylvania where they united with Moravian converts of their own Delaware and other Indian nations. These migrants were the trophies of nearly forty years of the devoted service of men whose endeavors had been inspired by Zinzendorf. Before 1790 the last of the natives had quit the region, some going to Canada, and others to Ohio or farther west.

The missionary work of Zinzendorf and his followers for and among the Indians of Northeastern Pennsylvania had its limitations as to time on account of the early removal of the natives from the region. Nevertheless it is safe to assume that these evangelistic efforts did have some survival values for other religious activities within this section of the country. In this connection it is appropriate to consider the cognate and contemporary relations between the Moravian movement and that of Methodism both in Europe and in America. The chief sponsors for the respective movements, Nicolaus Ludwig, Count von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf, 30 and John Weslev 31 were both born early in the eighteenth century, the one a Saxon, the other an Anglo-Saxon. Though the mysticism of the former exceeded that of the latter, they both were zealots in religion, indefatigable as evangelists, above the average as theologians, and outstanding as ecclesiastical organizers. Each not only sent missionaries<sup>32</sup> to America but also himself journeyed to the colonies with the primary purpose of evangelizing the natives. Wesley was in Georgia for most of 1736 and 1737, and Zinzendorf in Pennsylvania from 1741 to 1742. As to the immediate results of these missions the high hopes of these men were not realized in either case.

Our primary concern has to do with the contacts that were made between these two men as well as between their respective followings, and also the reactions resulting from these contacts. The ship Simmonds, on which Wesley took passage to America, required many weeks for the voyage and was severely handled by heavy winter gales. Particularly on the night of January 25 the raging winds and seas caused Wesley to admit he was afraid. Among the passengers aboard were several Germans who proved to be Moravians. Having noticed their calm demeanor in every storm, Wesley was deeply impressed to learn the secret of their lack of fear and discovered that it was due to the simplicity of their faith in God. While in Georgia he had conversations with one of Zinzendorf's missionaries who later became a Moravian bishop, Augustus Spangenberg.

On his return to London early in 1738 he was greatly illuminated by conversations he had with another leading Moravian, Peter Boehler, who "amazed" Wesley by his accounts of "the fruits of living faith." Boehler taught his inquiring friend that one may be so saved that sin shall not have dominion over him and he shall have peace. In their third discussion on the religious life, April 22, Wesley became convinced that one may experience instantaneous conversion, which was totally at variance from his previous conception and contrary to the commonly accepted teaching on the subject. All of these contacts with the Moravians paved the way to the epochal spiritual exaltation of May 24, in which Wesley affirmed that his heart "was strangely warmed" while at the meeting in Aldersgate street. Desirous of exploring more fully the Moravian teachings and system Wesley found his way to Marienborn<sup>34</sup> in western Germany in June. There he had conferences with Count Zinzendorf himself and beheld the manner of life maintained there and the methods under which the "congregation" operated. Although Wesley did not concur in everything, he did later incorporate some phases both of the teachings and the system he found at Marienborn. From this scene of religious activity he journeyed still farther until he came to Herrnhut in Saxony, the original source of the Moravians, or United Brethren. Here he conversed with Christian David and others, all of whom confirmed the teachings of those he had met earlier.

Back in London Wesley consorted with Boehler, Whitefield, his own brother Charles and others in maintaining meetings in Fetter Lane. This they did not as Moravians or as Methodists but as adherents of the Church of England. However, in the early part of 1740 sharp cleavages developed in the group, both as to doctrines and as to practices. The extreme mysticism of the Moravians was the chief cause of the dissension. Separating themselves from the Fetter Lane "society", John Wesley and his followers presently began to hold forth in an old foundry which they adapted to their needs. In course of time both Zinzendorf<sup>35</sup> and Wesley published the statement that neither they nor their people had any connection with each other. Nevertheless it is beyond question that each group modified the doctrines and way of life of the other. It is especially true that the Moravian movement both in Europe and in America had definite significance for the beginnings of Methodism in Northeastern Pennsylvania.

## METHODISM GAINS A FOOTHOLD IN AMERICA

The rise of Methodism in England dates from 1739 when the Wesleys and Whitefield began the great adventure.<sup>36</sup> It was only twenty-one years later that it was introduced into America by the arrival in New York of certain immigrants<sup>37</sup> from Ireland. These included Philip Embury, a local preacher and class leader, his wife Mary Switzer Embury, two of his brothers and their families, Peter Switzer, Paul Heck and his wife Barbara Ruckle Heck, and some others. Whatever relation any of these had to the Christian church, under the new environment their interest lapsed. Even Embury seems not to have functioned as a local preacher until 1766, and then only after the exhortations of Barbara Heck who became distressed because of the lack of pietry around her and prevailed upon Embury to preach to them. Meantime there had arrived from overseas five other families who joined together with the former group of friends and relatives to constitute under the leadership of Philip Embury and Barbara Heck the first contingent of the Wesleyan movement in the New World.

In 1767 there suddenly appeared among them Captain Thomas Webb,<sup>38</sup> a hero of the British army and a spiritual son of John Wesley, who proved to be a valuable acquisition to the active workers. As a roving evangelist he was the founder of Methodism in Philadelphia. Two years later at the urgent call<sup>39</sup> of the infant church Wesley sent as missionaries Joseph Pilmoor and Richard Boardman, Pilmoor going to Philadelphia and Boardman to New York. Lots were purchased in the latter city where an edifice<sup>40</sup> was erected in 1768 on John street, in which Embury preached the first sermon on Oct. 30.

Another local preacher, Robert Strawbridge,<sup>41</sup> came from Ireland about the same time as Embury and settled on Sam's Creek, Maryland. He was a very ardent Methodist in experience and preaching though he did not comply with Wesley's strictures which required Methodists to depend upon the Church of England for the administration of the sacraments. He also declined to subject himself to the system of appointments. It is probable that the "Old Meeting House" erected by Strawbridge in Maryland antedated Embury's "Wesley Chapel" in New York. However, it cannot claim first honors as it was never completed and was never deeded to the Methodists. The General Minutes which give the name of Strawbridge in 1773 and 1775 make no mention of Embury. Under the former's ministry Richard Owen<sup>43</sup> or Owings was the first native Methodist minister, although William Watters<sup>44</sup> was the first such minister to enter the itinerancy. Two ministers<sup>45</sup> who came to America but without the blessing of John Wesley were Robert Williams and John King who joined forces with Strawbridge and proved to be of great assistance to him.

In organizing the work in the New World Wesley designated Boardman<sup>46</sup> as his first "assistant." Both he and Pilmoor in their correspondence with

Wesley stressed the need for more helpers, Boardman stating, "They have no preaching in some parts of the back settlements," and Pilmoor lamenting that the preachers "are chiefly confined to the cities, and therefore cannot, at present, go much into the country." Two years<sup>47</sup> after these two men began their missionary work two others were despatched to America in answer to an urgent plea. These were Francis Asbury and Richard Wright who arrived in Philadelphia Oct. 27, 1771. The former was destined to become at once the genius and the impersonation of American Methodism, an indefatigable traveler, a Christian statesman, a master of assemblies, an incomparable leader, a great disciplinarian and an effective preacher. His Journal which begins with his appointment to America at twenty-six years of age and continues to the close of his life nearly forty-five years later, is a marvel of brevity of statement, of selfrevelation and of insights into the contemporary scene and into the characters of the persons whom he contacted. He had been in this country scarcely a year when he superseded Boardman as Wesley's first assistant<sup>48</sup> here. He had not been in his new office long before he sized up the situation much as had the others. But there is an implied criticism of their urban policy as he wrote in his Journal,49 "My brethren seem unwilling to leave the cities, but I think I shall show them the way." This was prophetic of the acquired policy of the church to penetrate to the remote frontiers of America. Meantime Captain Webb returned to England and succeeded in securing the appointment of two additional helpers.<sup>50</sup> George Shadford and Thomas Rankin. These able and earnest men came in June, 1773.

The first conference<sup>51</sup> session of American Methodism was held in Philadelphia, July 14-16, 1773. The meeting place was that "Old Cathedral," 52 St. George's church, which had been acquired by the Methodists after the original owners, a German Reformed society, had failed financially. Although Asbury speaks of this as being a "general conference," it was so only in the sense that it was an assembly of all of the preachers who could be secured to attend and in the sense that it was a time of consultation on matters of common concern. Quarterly conferences<sup>53</sup> for local consultations had been held as early as 1772, but this was the first of a series of annual conferences that became a fixture in the church. Ten preachers, all Europeans, constituted the conference. Seven of these and three others were appointed to serve a membership of 1,160. Momentous decisions were adopted at this meeting. First of all the preachers agreed that the authority of John Wesley should be binding upon them and that the doctrines and discipline formulated for Methodists should be accepted. Among the six "rules" that were approved one was that no preacher was to administer the sacraments, and another was that all Methodists were to be urged to attend the services of "the Church" (of England).

The period of the Revolutionary War was one of universal trial<sup>54</sup> not only

in politics but also in religion. There was intense partisanship that resulted in cleavages as well as new alignments. As inevitable as the dissolution of the bonds between the colonies and the mother country was the separation of the Methodist church in America from British Methodism. In both instances the severance of ties was only partly due to the fact that three thousand miles of ocean intervened. In the case of the church it stemmed largely from the fact that Wesley, because of distance, age and native inhibitions, was unable to envision the conditions then obtaining in the New World. A strong factor in the separation was a resentment against Wesley's arbitrary insistence upon a subordination of the preachers and people to the clergy and ritual of the Church of England in America. From the beginning there were many, both preachers and people, who dissented from the Wesleyan policy, among the most pronounced of whom was Strawbridge55 who exerted a wide influence especially in Maryland and Virginia. It should be pointed out that though Methodism had been transplanted from abroad it readily became luxuriant in the new soil and in its American form it appeared as endemic as anything else in the Western World. In addition to all of this the colonial atmosphere was charged with the spirit of freedom and independence. It was inevitable that this spirit would move the American Methodists to set up an establishment of their own, to be of, by and for Americans.

The partisanship that developed among the people of the period was partly due to the fact that some were passionate in their attachment to everything English and that others were equally passionate in their antipathy toward everything English. In this situation Wesley's letter<sup>56</sup> urging the preachers to be cautious in their attitude and speech did not promote good feeling. Moreover, his ill-advised "Calm Address"<sup>57</sup> to the colonies totally missed its objective, complicated the situation in this country and made the work of the ministers most difficult. So bitter was the feeling that some of the leading preachers barely escaped with their lives because of their ecclesiastical connections. It is true that after the news of Concord and Lexington reached England Wesley addressed to the government a most emphatic<sup>58</sup> protest against the war with the colonies and defended them for asserting "their legal rights." But this championing of the cause of the colonies could not repair the damage already done, and also evidently escaped the notice of the general public.

Francis Asbury,<sup>59</sup> among many others, regretted the Calm Address, writing under date of March 19, 1776, "I also received an affectionate letter from Mr. Wesley, and am truly sorry that the venerable man ever dipped into the politics of America." In spite of every adverse condition this devoted man did not abate his zeal for the evangelization of America. All other preachers who had come to this country for the same purpose had by 1778 returned whence they came. Only when the opposition was at its height did Asbury go into seclusion

for a few weeks, finding a haven in the home of his friend, Judge Thomas White, in Kent county, Maryland. Had he felt free to take the oath<sup>60</sup> of allegiance in that state, his movements might not have been restricted. After a brief retirement he resumed his activities and ultimately "he emerged to be the hero<sup>61</sup> of American Methodist history through all the remainder of his life."

Of those 62 who recrossed the Atlantic in this period some had been sent as missionaries and had been closely associated with Asbury. The parting between him and his intimate friend George Shadford was especially touching. When the time came for these two to decide the question of staying or going they agreed to make it the subject of fasting and prayer. Having so done, "Shadford concluded he had an answer to leave the country and return to England; but Asbury, who received an answer to stay, replied, 'If you are called to go, I am called to stay: so here we must part.' Accordingly they parted to meet no more on earth." Admiring Asbury's decision as we do, it is entirely gratuitous to question the motives of other men who felt lead in another direction.

At the same time that the Europeans were withdrawing there was an ever increasing number of native evangelists, 63 men who were devoted both to their country and their church. William Watters, already mentioned, at the age of twenty-two received a conference appointment in 1773. Philip Gatch, a friend of similar age, was enrolled the following year. Third in line was David Ruff, about whom Asbury 64 comments, "honest, simple Daniel Ruff has been made a great blessing to" the people of Maryland. It was under this man's ministry there was brought into the church and into the ministry one of the outstanding preachers of the entire period, Freeborn Garrettson, 65 who was received on trial in 1776. If, as some hold, Garrettson ranked next to Asbury in service to the church, surely the third in honors was Jesse Lee, 66 of Virginia, a minister of great usefulness, the founder of New England Methodism and the denomination's first historian. Besides these and many others who entered the itinerancy there was a great number of local preachers 67 who rendered service of inestimable worth.

In 1779 the annual conference met in separate sections, <sup>68</sup> one at Judge White's, in Delaware, and the other at Fluvanna, Virginia. The ostensible reason for this arrangement was the better to accommodate the preachers in the time of war. However, Asbury's temporary retirement was a factor in it. It was also a concession to the southern group which was more progressive, holding to the right of ministers to administer the sacraments, and the right of the conference to ordain ministers. The northern group voted to "guard against a separation from the Church (of England) directly or indirectly." It also named Asbury as Wesley's "general assistant in America," according to him the right to render decisions after all debates. A similar situation obtained the following year when sessions <sup>69</sup> were held in Baltimore, Md., and Manakintown, Va.

Just as the earlier conferences revealed the trends, the development and the personnel of American Methodism, so those<sup>70</sup> of the next three years present similar sketches of the closing years of the war. It was a continuing period of adjustments. For expediency two separate sessions of the conference were held annually, one being regarded as preliminary to the other, and both being considered as but one in reality. Each served as a check upon the other. There was essential harmony though complete unity was not effected till the organizing conference of 1784. On the subjects of temperance and slavery the pronouncements were particularly strong. One of the problems that engaged their attention was the securing of an adequate number of preachers and its corollary, an adequate financial support for the ministry.

In spite of the hardships and dissensions of the war years, including the necessity of abandoning many preaching places, there was a remarkable increase<sup>71</sup> in church membership, and ultimately in the number of preachers. In 1776 there were 4,921 members and twenty-four preachers. In 1783 there were 13,740 members and eighty preachers. Only 1,623 of these members were north of the Mason and Dixon's line, or less than 12%.

Whatever the purposes and preferences of men might be, the conditions<sup>72</sup> that obtained during the process of the separation of America from the mother country made it both logical and inevitable that Wesley's spiritual children in the Western World should become isolated from the parent organization, though always retaining the essential content of Methodism. In addition to the factors already cited was the most conclusive realization that unless they should fend for themselves and administer their own sacraments they would be without administrative guidance and without the ordinances of baptism and communion. Most of the clergy of the Church of England had gone home. Those who did remain were not as devout as they should have been. It was disturbing to be dependent on such as these. At the same time there was a growing conviction that native born Methodist preachers should have the right of administering the sacraments to those to whom they preached, particularly in view of the fact that their ministry was fruitful in the conversion of many souls. Not to assert that right would be to hamper their work and to restrict the development of the church. Surely God could trust them with the sacraments, if He trusted them with the souls of men!

This conviction was entirely compatible with the genius of Methodism, which though it emanated from within the framework of a closely knit monarchical system was destined to move in the direction of a democratic polity. Whereas Asbury and his coadjutors, backed by John Wesley, stoutly adhered to the Anglical church as supreme in authority, the major part of the American Methodist population, both lay and ministerial, yearned for what they considered the rights and privileges of an autonomous church. The time was rapidly

drawing near when their patient loyalty would be rewarded. This did not come about by a popular referendum but by the logic of events which radically altered the attitude of those who had opposed the democratic trend.

In due course Wesley<sup>73</sup> himself came to realize that the separation of American Methodism from that of the British Isles was inevitable, however much such a separation might wrench his soul. Nothing ever proved the greatness of his character or the prescience of his mind more than his letter<sup>74</sup> of September 10, 1784, which paved the way for the independent functioning of his spiritual children across the seas under an episcopal government of their own choosing. To make this arrangement effective he designated Dr. Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury jointly the first general superintendents of the new organization. The letter was duly presented to as many ministers as could be gotten together. The meeting<sup>75</sup> was held in Baltimore from Friday, December 24, to Monday, January 3, and gained the name of the "Christmas Conference" because of the day on which it really got under way. Many important matters engaged the attention of the conference, including the formal election of the two men whom Mr. Wesley had proposed for the general superintendency. Also in harmony with the plan he had outlined the organization took the name of "The Methodist Episcopal Church" and adopted the Articles of Religion and the General Rules substantially as drafted by him. This body by its enactments confirmed the Methodist usages of the past but under such terms as established a new and independent ecclesiastical institution.

What the exact membership of the church was at this time is impossible to determine inasmuch as the church year and the calendar year did not coincide. However, the figures<sup>76</sup> given for the year 1784-85 show there were 18,000 members and 104 preachers, a gain respectively of 20% and 25% over the previous year. As the church expanded in numbers and spread over larger territory it was found inexpedient to try to assemble all of the preachers together oftener than once in four years. Instead the policy was adopted of assigning matters of concern to the whole church to a quadrennial general conference, leaving matters of local interest, including the appointing of preachers, to the several annual conferences. Ultimately a plan for a delegated general conference<sup>77</sup> to convene quadrennially was adopted in 1808 and put into force four years later.

The Christmas conference convened but a little more than a year after the Treaty of Paris which marked the separation of the colonies from the rule of Britain and preceded by more than three years the ratification of the Constitution of the United States. These significant achievements in church and state were not only contemporary in time but also had their parallels in other directions. Each indicated an emergence from the past, a maturing into selfhood and a graduation into autonomy. The deep emotions that were stirred in each

instance made the severance of ties the more pronounced. Moreover, both the church and the state were destined to become great in their expansiveness, great in their influence and great in their service to mankind. How very fitting was it therefore, the first session of the United States Congress having assembled in New York in April, 1789, and George Washington having been inaugurated on the 30th of that month, that the New York conference, convening less than a month later, should delegate Francis Asbury and Dr. Coke to present an address to him, the first elected bishops of the church to the first elected president of the nation! Thus the Methodist church<sup>78</sup> was the first officially to recognize the new Republic and its chief executive. With such an auspicious beginning the church faced the future with confidence and with courage. It also evinced its adaptibility to its environment politically, socially, geographically and otherwise. This was demonstrated more and more as the population increased and as the membership multiplied.

It is noteworthy that American Methodism worked out a system<sup>79</sup> of administration suited to the needs of the New World. Much of the efficiency of the denomination resulted from having an articulated organization that was also elastic. The members of the local church or "society" were assigned to one or more classes and placed under leaders who met with them once a week to confer about their spiritual condition. This was a most valuable service in view of the fact that often the ministers were elsewhere in their work. Each society had stewards who looked after temporalities. Licenses were issued to exhorters as well as to "local" or lay preachers, men who functioned either as temporary pulpit supplies or as preachers in charge of circuits under the supervision of a presiding elder, and could on certain conditions be ordained as deacons and then as elders. Only ordained men could administer the sacraments. Having served a year or more as a local preacher one could join a conference on trial and after two years be admitted into full membership. As a conference member he was subject to appointment by the bishop. Unless he had been ordained while a local preacher he normally would be ordained a deacon when received into full membership, and an elder two years later. Usually the preachers had charge of several classes or societies constituting circuits so large as to require two weeks or more to make the rounds, preaching on Sundays and during the week. Frequently two or more preachers were appointed to a given circuit, in which case the younger, less experienced men were known as "junior" preachers. Men who were members of conference were classed as "traveling" preachers and as such were indeed a mobile force. In the earliest days they were appointed for only six months in a place and then moved elsewhere. In process of time the period was lengthened to a year and then to two years at the discretion of the bishop. Frequent changes were feasible in an era in which but few ministers were married.

From the time of the first annual conference in 1773 when there were only six charges down to the organization of the Methodist Episcopal church eleven years later the stationing of preachers was shown in the General Minutes by arranging their names in connection with the several circuits in a continuous list. Beginning with 1785 the circuits and their appointed preachers were presented in groups under the supervision of officials called "elders". For the single year of 1789 and then from 1797 forward they were called "presiding elders." The number of circuits in these groups varied from as few as two to as many as sixteen. Meantime the groups which began with twelve rose to as many as twenty-four and dropped to seventeen at the end of the century. Thereafter the groups were called "districts," and often bore the names of cities or states.

A notable feature of the early times and for many after years was the system of quarterly meetings<sup>80</sup> which convened at designated points within a district and continued through Saturdays and Sundays. These were field days in which there was a maximum amount of preaching, praying, exhortings and hymn singing. Although presiding elders did not invariably have charge of these meetings it was especially his prerogative to preside over the services and administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as well as to preach on Sunday which was the high day of the occasion. Ministers often from distant circuits came to share in all of the activities of the meetings, and were accompanied by many of their people. These gatherings were immeasurable in their value and resulted in the quickening of believers and in the conversion of many people of all ages. Always the emphasis was on evangelism, only a minimum amount of business being considered. Not till 1804 did the phrase "quarterly meeting conference" come into use. This implied the transaction of business.

Though the General Conference<sup>81</sup> emerged as the supreme and authoritative body in American Methodism the annual conference<sup>82</sup> retained its unique and necessary position. The latter unit was the annual gathering of the ministers with the bishop for the purpose of conferring together, as the phrase implies, on matters of moment to them all. Up to 1784 the proceedings of the meetings were entitled, "Minutes of Some Conversations between the Preachers in Connection with the Rev. John Wesley." After that date the "conversations" were carried on between the preachers and the bishop, the latter dominating the discussions and exercising the power of decision. The stationing of the preachers was the prerogative of the bishop and usually was done before the adjournment of the conference. The bishop also assumed the responsibility of determining the number of conferences as well as the times and places of their meetings, primarily considering his own convenience. When the conferences increased and extended from North to South the seasons of the year became a factor in his schedule. The multiplication of the number of conferences simplified the matter

of attendance on the part of the preachers. The time came, however, when they felt the number of conferences was out of proportion to the members who attended and that this gave the bishop a disproportionate dominance in their meetings. On their request the number of conferences was reduced, according to an action of the General Conference of 1796. The effect of the action was to require the preachers to travel greater distances, incur greater expense and to be absent from their charges for a longer time. By a process of evolution the word "conference" came to have at least three meanings, (1) the actual conference with the bishop, (2) the body of those who met for this purpose, and, (3) the territory represented by those who met in conference. In the latter sense there originally were no definite boundaries such as those recognized in  $1801^{83}$  and thereafter.

The conformity of the Methodist system to American needs was not more remarkable than its doctrinal emphases were appropriate to the American people. The church divested itself of whatever<sup>84</sup> Calvinism may have been deposited by such leaders as Whitefield and placed its stress upon the freedom of the will. This was consonant with the temper of the New World and brought a readier response than the stricter sense of sovereignty and autocracy. Its pragmatism and its reliance upon the values of a personal religious experience had their appeal for people who were more concerned in demonstrable proofs than in formalism or an impersonal mysticism. As to the foundation teachings of the church they were such as were held in common with others. The phenomenal success of American Methodism was not due to any one factor but to a combination of factors summarized in its workable system and the impulse derived from an inner experience of divine heat and power.

No discussion of Methodism's gaining a foothold in America would be complete, if it did not include an appraisal of the part taken by the early itinerants. They were the vanguard, the hardy and courageous men of God who seized and held the "beachheads" of the frontier and who eagerly went wherever people were to be found, often eking out a bare subsistence and sharing with the settlers in their poverty. None of them gained wealth from their ministry and few attained a great reputation, although many of them showed native ability and developed into able preachers and effective administrators. Truly they went "without scrip or purse," trusting themselves to a hospitality that sometimes was not freely given. Indeed they often met bitter opposition85 from people whom they attempted to serve. Their lives were jeopardized by wild animals, by the rigors of the elements and by the wilderness itself. They traveled light and on horseback, their saddlebags invariably containing a Bible, a hymn book and a copy of the Methodist Discipline. Never has a more devoted band of men gone forth to evangelize the world than the Methodist preachers of the latter part of the eighteenth century. Rarely have men set out upon a more

difficult enterprise than did they. The value of their service is not to be measured by their lack of formal education but by their ability to preach plain sermons to plain people.

The elemental conditions of the early times required ministers with strong hearts and vigorous bodies, and as a rule imposed upon them a celibate life. The ministry of that period was not a calling with a long career. The rigors of circuit riding and the contemporary diseases, particularly tuberculosis, present a pitiful study in mortality. Because of a lack of parsonages and because "traveling" preachers were forever "on the go" the possibility of maintaining a family and a home were very slight. Moreover, the near poverty of the people made it impossible for them to provide parsonages or to provide support sufficient for married men. If a man married, almost invariably he took a "location" and entered into secular life. For these reasons the turnover in the ministry was very high. It is likewise true that the preachers were young and lacking in experience. On the other hand they were men of zeal and daring. If it had not been for the heroic challenge of the itinerancy and the high rate of recruitment, Methodism would have burned itself out in a short time.

In summarizing the problem of the pioneer preachers Stevens<sup>88</sup> has this to say:

"Most of the early itinerants had to locate, at least, on account of their broken health, or the sufferings of their families. Of six hundred fifty whose names appear in the Minutes, by the close of the century, about five hundred died located, and many of the remainder were, for a longer or shorter interval, in the local ranks, but were able again to enter the itinerancy. Nearly half of those whose deaths are recorded died before they were thirty years old; about two-thirds died before they had spent twelve years in the laborious service. They fell martyrs to their work."

A monumental exception to the brevity of careers in the ministry and a remarkable example of self-imposed celibacy as well as of survival in spite of frailities of the body in the face of exacting labors is the case of Francis Asbury. He deliberately refrained from marriage for reasons which he elaborated<sup>89</sup> at a date late in his life. His Journal<sup>90</sup> is replete with the recital of the personal hardships he endured and the physical debilities and sufferings to which he was subjected. Yet he attained to fully seventy years of age, nearly forty-five of which were spent in a country foreign to that of his birth. During his American ministry he traveled almost constantly, visiting almost all parts of the spreading church, and having major responsibility for its administration at a most critical period in its history. He lived to see the Methodist Episcopal church grow from a membership much less than that of many individual Methodist churches of today to a total of more than 200,000, distributed among nine conferences and shepherded by nearly seven hundred ministers. Surely his life was exceptional. His services have not been paralleled on this continent.

# III. Methodist Beginnings In Wyoming

#### A LAYMAN LEADS THE WAY

The introduction of Methodism into Northeastern Pennsylvania came not by fortuitous chance, did not result from propaganda from abroad, and was not the outcome of efforts by heroic missionaries. The initial movement was not sponsored by any organization but issued from the vivid experience and definite decision of one individual. That individual was a layman, a blacksmith by trade. He may have been a Welshman, for his name was Anning Owen.¹ In the more than one hundred sixty years since he unostentatiously inaugurated a work the later magnitude of which he could not have dreamed, no adequate recognition has been made of him, no worthy tribute paid. His Christian pioneering constitutes one of the romances of history albeit a hideous tragedy gave it birth. Though his later years are a matter of record, his early life rests in obscurity. Our first knowledge of him is that he was one of the original settlers on the Wyoming frontier and that he established himself there shortly after the beginning of the American Revolution when he was about twenty-six years of age.

Owen was in the Battle of Wyoming and was one of the few combatants to survive that unequal contest. In the thick of the fight he stood by the side of his brother-in-law, Benjamin Carpenter. So actively was he engaged in meeting the murderous fire of the enemy that the barrel of his gun became unbearably hot with the frequency of its discharge, in spite of the primitive character of the weapon. Crying out to his companion, "My gun is so hot that I cannot hold it," he received the admonition, "Do the best you can." This he did until the futility of the struggle became so evident that both Owen and Carpenter fled to the river where they secreted themselves the rest of the day at the edge of the stream under the protective screen of a grapevine that hung from the branches of a tree. Roger Searle, a mere lad, followed them. While the trio were in hiding at a point near Shoemaker's Creek, ghastly sights were visible through the leaves. It was especially revolting to behold the deed of the Tory Windnecker who adopted the methods of the savages in tomahawking their friend and neighbor Shoemaker, whose mangled body slowly floated down into the eddy near where they were. Under the cover of darkness Owen, Carpenter and Searle made their way to the nearby fort where they remained until the capitulation.

To Anning Owen the terrifying experience through which he passed consti-

tuted a miraculous deliverance from death which was nothing less than an act of divine mercy. Thus it became a turning point in his religious life from which he was led ultimately to the dedication of his life in Christian service. As he fled in fear from the bloody battle, uncertain of his own survival, there came upon him with vivid force the conviction that he was sadly unprepared to face eternity. As he lay in the waters of the river he prayed long and fervently for God to have compassion upon his soul. Then and there he resolved that, if his life would be spared, he would make it definitely Christian. There is every reason to believe that Owen was true to the vows of that July day which stood out so clearly in his mind that in after years he frequently referred to it in his discourses.

Details are lacking as to where Owen presently went or what he did during the ensuing decade. It is very certain, however, that he retraced his steps to the East whence he had originally come, as did the other survivors of the tragedy. The brief memoir given in the General Minutes of the Methodist Episcopal church states that he was a native of the State of New York. Nevertheless it is very likely his early home had been in Connecticut whence came most of the migrants into Northeastern Pennsylvania. Perhaps Newburgh or some other place along the lower Hudson valley was the place to which Owen went at this time. Wherever it was that he stayed there was an active group of Methodists, which hardly could have been the case in the New England of that day. This was probably his first contact with the exponents of the teachings of John Wesley. Like so many others with whom he had been associated he had been brought up within the fold of the Congregational church. He now found that the ways and teachings of the Methodists appealed most to him in his new attitude toward life. He therefore identified himself with them.

It was not till some time after the conclusion of the Revolutionary War that any considerable flow of population turned again toward the West. Five years after the Treaty of Paris the United States Constitution was adopted in 1788. That same year, or possibly a year earlier, Anning Owen and many others of the original settlers found their way back to Wyoming to begin anew upon the frontier. At a point on the west side of the highway where it crossed a branch of Tobey's Creek Owen erected a humble home which was still standing more than three-quarters of a century later. The spot is on the west side of Wyoming Avenue in Kingston, between John and Union streets, being nearer the former street. Adjacent to his house he located the blacksmith shop where he continued to ply his trade for a few years. With unabated zeal he carried on religious conversations with his neighbors, telling them of his personal experiences and exhorting them to give their hearts to God. Soon he was holding prayer meetings in his own house. Receiving encouraging response, he was invited to appoint meetings in other homes. The simple, hearty appeals of the blacksmith,

supplemented by the efforts of Messrs. Gray and Adams, led to a remarkable outpouring of religious fervor that caused a great awakening centering in the section known as Ross Hill. Here a class was formed about 1788, the first organized unit of Methodism in the entire region.

Naturally Owen was regarded as the spiritual father of this group which held meetings during the day on Sundays, Sunday evenings and Thursday evenings in the home of Captain Ebenezer Parish,2 which was less than two miles southerly from where Owen lived, and, according to local tradition, stood a block or two in the rear of the Edwardsville high school. This definite beginning of Methodism in Northeastern Pennsylvania took place less than fifty years after Wesley had formed his first class in England, only a little more than a score of years after the beginning of the movement in America, and scarcely four years after the church was organized at the Christmas conference held in Baltimore. The charter members3 of the Ross Hill class were these: Mr. and Mrs. Anning Owen, Mr. and Mrs. Gray, Abram Adams, Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Baker, Mrs. Wooley and Miss Wooley. Mrs. Deborah Bedford, who joined the class shortly after it was started, states that others who became members of the class within the next two or three years included: Mrs. Ruth Pierce, Misses Alice and Hannah Pierce, Joseph Brown, Captain and Mrs. Parish, Mr. and Mrs. Darius Williams, and Samuel Carver and his father. All the members of the class lived in homes widely scattered. From the statement of Mrs. Bedford it may be inferred that there was a short interval between the inception of the class and the time when Captain Parish was designated as its leader and his home as its regular meeting place.

The meetings of the little band were often characterized by an emotionalism such as has been typical of primitive people living on the frontier. Mrs. Bedford<sup>4</sup> sympathetically describes the scene in these words, "Saints rejoiced and praised God, and sinners fell on the floor and cried out for mercy, and few were able to keep their seats. . . . This disturbed the enemy's camp, and raised persecution against us, and our names were cast out as evil; but the more they persecuted us the more the Lord blessed us."

The account which Mrs. Bedford gave of her own conversion reveals both the subjective nature and the ingenuousness of the religious experiences of her contemporaries. "I joined the class," said she, "in the sixteenth year of my age. I had been under concern of mind from May, I think, to September. I was alone when I was awakened, and was keeping house for my father at Pittston (rather, Lackawanna, north of Pittston), where he and my uncle<sup>5</sup> were building a forge. . . . I was singing the two following lines:

'O may it all my powers engage, To do my Master's will.'

The inquiry came home to me, 'Do you strive to do your Master's Will?' I was

then flung into the greatest agony of mind; I walked the floor and wrung my hands, and then fell upon my knees and cried for mercy; but I felt as if there was no mercy for me. Then I opened my Bible, and that condemned me. I continued between hope and despair for five months. It was on Thursday night, in prayer meeting in Kingston, that the Lord set my soul at liberty. The meeting was a very solemn one, and when the last prayer was finished my burden rolled off, and my soul was filled with love, light and power; it seemed as if the walls of the house praised God. The change was soon discovered in my countenance. Sister Owen asked me the state of my mind, and I expressed my feelings as well as I could. Glory to God for all He did for my soul that night! This is my experience as well as I can tell it."

From the first Anning Owen<sup>6</sup> followed what he considered the divine leading in his activities. Under his hand the work unfolded more and more. During the time he was unofficially rendering service ordinarily performed by a classleader, an exhorter, or even a minister, the question haunted his mind as to his relation to the ministry itself, Should he, an uneducated blacksmith, approaching two score years of age, and a man with a family, enter the itinerancy? It was an especially serious matter for a man under such circumstances to forsake an occupation in which he was skilled and enter a new field of endeavor as exacting as that of the Christian ministry. It was rare in those days for a man to remain in the ministry beyond his age, to say nothing about taking up the work at his time in life. It was even more rare for a man with a family to be a circuit rider. Of all the deterrents from becoming a preacher in those days the lack of an education was far less weighty than now. There were two factors that were most determinative in arriving at a decision when a man faced the question of becoming a minister. The first factor was the possession of a deep religious experience. The second was the sense of a clear, divine call. On both of these scores Anning Owen felt he had a definite compulsion.

During the period in which Owen was perplexed as to his duty he discovered that another layman was laboring over a similar problem. Accordingly he and his brother-in-law, Benjamin Carpenter, Esq., who was also a member of the Ross Hill class, and who had been his companion in flight from the Battle of Wyoming, decided to settle the question by turning to the Bible. They agreed to acquiesce with the mandate to be found in the first passage which presented itself on the casual opening of the Scriptures. Handing a copy of the Bible to his friend, the 'Squire directed Owen to proceed. The words which first met his eyes were: "Woe is me, if I preach not the gospel." Owen's response was ready and final, "I will." But his neighbor demurred, saying, "I cannot." This was another turning point in the life of the blacksmith who presently journeyed to the East. Returning in due time, he announced to an assemblage of his fellow-Methodists, "I have a regular license to preach, and now have full power to

proceed in the work." He did not, however, at once enter the itinerant ranks, but did use his credentials in the public promotion of the Christian faith in his vicinity. Some years later Mrs. Bedford, on being asked what was done in the line of preaching during this period, replied, "O, Father Owen hammered away for us, and we did very well. We were all happy in God, and were not so very particular."

Soon the leaven of Methodism began to spread up and down the Valley on both sides of the Susquehanna. The sequence and dates of the organization of classes<sup>7</sup> do not now appear and are of little moment. Indeed the classes seem to have sprung up almost simultaneously between 1790 and 1792. The first class leader in Wilkes-Barre was Azel Dana. Four miles below at Hanover the first leader was Ashbel Waller, other male members of the class including Joseph Waller and John How. When Ashbel Waller became a local preacher he was succeeded by Abram Adams as leader. Four miles below Hanover at Newport the first to join in class were Martin and Jonathan Smith and the Reeders. Stephen Burrett was the leader of a class at Aaron Hunt's probably in Nanticoke rather than in Hanover as stated by Pearce. The leaders did not necessarily live in the neighborhood of their classes, as is shown in the case of Ashbel Waller, who, residing in Careytown, now in the southwestern part of Wilkes-Barre, was not only the first leader of the Hanover class but was also helpful in organizing the class in Plymouth, where Jeremiah Coleman was the first leader. Mr. and Mrs. Coleman and their two daughters became ardent members of the church and gained a favorable reputation for the hospitality of their home which was greatly enjoyed by many an itinerant. One of the daughters married Samuel Holley, and the other a Mr. Hodge, both women<sup>8</sup> carrying on the tradition of earnest devotion. Probably one of the first half dozen classes to be formed was the one within the present Wyoming, where Stephen Jenkins appears to have been the first leader. Others who constituted the group included Benjamin and Gilbert Carpenter, Abram Goodwin, Philip Jackson and a German by the name of Rosencrantz. The homes of the last two were the chief meeting places. James Sutton became the leader of a class at Capt. Vaughn's which was more northerly than the others and may have been in the Providence section of Scranton. The classes usually met once a week. The places where they met were also preaching places for the itinerants.

At least two other classes formed within this period should be mentioned, the one at Trucksville,<sup>9</sup> formerly Bedford, and the other at Carverton,<sup>10</sup> both of which places were over the mountain to the west. In April, 1798, Colbert speaks of riding to the home of James Rice, in Trucksville, and of holding a prayer-meeting at the home of "friend Smith." Five months later, accompanied by Mesdames Holley and Hodge, he again went to the same section where he preached and then conducted a class meeting at the home of Eben Russett. Carverton,

which was also known as the "Harris neighborhood," was the place of residence of the Harris and Carver families as far back as the early seventeen-nineties. Both families were prominent in Methodist affairs. Charles Harris is said to have been the "first fruits of Methodism in that locality." On the other hand Samuel Carver, who later became a useful local preacher, was the first class leader. The person who at the outset fostered the work at this point was Gilbert Carpenter, who secured a local preacher's license and had a regular appointment at the Harris home. Another meeting place was at the home of Reuben Williams, Harris' brother-in-law. Both of these men were "awakened" at about the same time. Harris, who lived to a happy old age of past ninety years, late in life told about the memorable services conducted sixty years before. Speaking of the second meeting held, which was at the Williams home, he said, "This was Uncle Gill's appointment, but being a rainy day and but few present, we had a prayer meeting. My mother was deeply distressed, and made a prayer exactly as follows: 'Lord, have mercy on me, for I am poor, and miserable, and blind, and naked. Amen."

As an illustration of the doctrinal tests to which young converts were sometimes subjected it is related that not long after "Father Harris," as he was later called, and Mrs. Horton had joined the class, two Presbyterian ministers, who were at the home of 'Squire Hollister, sent for these two young people, and gave them a gratuitous test. The first question was propounded to the young woman who was asked if she loved God. Venturing an affirmative reply, she was then asked if she would love God, even if He would send her to hell. When she revealed she was too puzzled to answer, the interrogator turned to the young man and presented the same questions. Having replied that he did love God, he was asked for his reasons and gave the satisfactory response that he loved God "because he first loved me." Thereupon the third inquiry was, "Mr. Harris, would you love God if you knew He would send you to hell?" After he had replied in the negative, the young man became the inquisitor, saying, "Now I want to ask you a question. How can sinners on the way to hell love God, if they do not love God in hell?" Though he had not studied theology, he had resourceful reasoning powers and sufficient assurance to enable him to confuse as well as confute the bigoted persons who were bent on destroying the simple faith of inexperienced Christians.

While Methodism was spontaneously and progressively pushing out from the focal point in the Wyoming Valley encouragement and assistance were simultaneously moving into the Valley from the East. It may be assumed that Anning Owen had maintained lines of communication with that section in which he had been infused with the spirit and doctrines of the Methodists and that he had acquainted his eastern friends with the rich missionary opportunities presented by the settlers along the Susquehanna. Whatever may have been the relations

it soon transpired that far-ranging Methodist preachers heard the call of the wilds, and, with a sense of responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the frontier people, penetrated the forests of Pennsylvania at least as far as the Wyoming Valley. First among those who felt that the only bounds of their "charge" were set by the needs of the settlers who could be reached in the distant parts was Nathaniel B. Mills<sup>11</sup> who came into the Valley while riding the Newburgh circuit in 1789. He was one of two men serving this newly formed circuit, his associate being Andrew Harpending. In the following year from the same circuit Joseph Lovell, <sup>12</sup> whose colleague was Benjamin Abbott, paid a visit to Wyoming. The stay of Mills and Lovell in the wilderness was brief yet most significant. For at the conference <sup>13</sup> that convened in New York on May 26, 1791, Wyoming for the first time was listed in the General Minutes, and was one of a group that included Newburgh, New York, New Rochelle and Long Island and that had Robert Cloud as its presiding elder.

#### CAMPBELL THE FIRST DULY APPOINTED PREACHER IN CHARGE OF WYOMING

The first duly appointed preacher in charge of the Wyoming circuit was James Campbell, 14 a young man presently from Albany and now entering upon his third year as an itinerant. Coming to Wyoming in 1791, he continued to have contacts with that circuit during the two following years while he was serving as one of the two preachers on the adjoining Northumberland circuit. His active ministry spanned only sixteen years though he survived his last pastorate nearly thirty-six years, his death occurring Dec. 31, 1840, in his eightieth year. At the time Campbell came to Wyoming the membership was 100, one-half of whom were connected with the Ross Hill class. When Mills visited the Valley he was twenty-five years of age and had been a circuit rider for four years. One year at a time he served a great variety of circuits during nearly fifty years, and after a short time in retirement he died the 20th of Feb., 1845, within three days of his seventy-ninth birthday. His memoir speaks of him as a preacher of the old school, a connecting link with the irrecoverable past, and "a holy man of God." Lovell's adventure into Wyoming was within his first year in the ministry. After serving a year each in eight other charges his name disappears from the list of appointments, but in 1800 is among those who had located.

Mrs. Bedford<sup>15</sup> tells of meeting Mr. Campbell at the home of her father James Sutton who at this time lived near Pittston. In her words, "Mr. Campbell preached at my father's once in two weeks; my mother, myself and two of the workmen were all there were in the class. It was like preaching to the walls. Pittston was at that time a very hardened place, and great prejudice was raised against us." The same authority describes the first quarterly meeting held on the circuit,

which was presided over by Robert Cloud who also administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In the language of Mrs. Bedford we are informed that, "Our first quarterly meeting was held at Ross Hill in a barn. I think Mr. Cloud was our presiding elder. We had a very solemn meeting; the Lord was truly with us. The Lord now added daily to his church. I had been taught that it was a dreadful thing to partake of the sacrament unworthily. I cried to the Lord, that, if it was my duty to keep away, I might be enabled to do so. I said, 'Lord, I am not worthy.' The answer was, 'Go in my name.' I stepped from seat to seat until I came to the last; then I knelt down and partook. I felt sweet peace and consolation, and went home rejoicing that the Lord assisted me to discharge my duty."

In connection with the expansive movement westward from the Hudson valley it is worth while to note certain personalities and the strategy involved. Special mention should be made of Freeborn Garrettson, 16 who next after Francis Asbury ranked highest among the Methodist preachers of the day. Born in Maryland Aug. 15, 1752, he was converted at the age of twenty-three and was received on trial as a minister in 1776. After serving several charges he received elder's orders at the Christmas conference from which he went as a volunteer to Nova Scotia, thus becoming the first foreign missionary of American Methodism. Remarkable success attended his ministry so that within less than three years more than three hundred members were enrolled. It was expected that he would be made a bishop with the north country as his special field. However, after returning to the States Garrettson resumed circuit riding in his native Maryland. Of his fifty-two years in the ministry thirteen were spent as pastor, twenty-three as presiding elder, ten as a missionary, five in the supernumerary relation and one year without being stationed. Much of this time he was actively engaged along the Hudson river or in territory contiguous thereto. His evangelistic achievements were extraordinary and his organizational ability most effective. At the time of his decease, Sept. 26, 1827, he was the oldest traveling minister in the church, and was said to be "one of the most successful itinerant champions of the Methodist movement."

In 1788, the very year in which Owen began his religious activities in Wyoming, Asbury commissioned Garrettson to develop and prosecute evangelism along the Hudson valley as far north as Lake Champlain and into Vermont. Previous to his appointment to this challenging responsibility there were only three circuts in New York, namely, New York, Long Island and New Rochelle. However, at this time a rather ambitious list of circuits was arranged, evidently with the hope that they all might prove to be something more than mere names. The General Minutes for the year give two "districts in this section" with Henry Wills as elder over New York and Long Island while Garrettson was in charge of six other circuits farther north. Nevertheless it is certain that the latter had

the chief oversight of both groups, including all the work along the river. It is pretty clear also that in the following year he had general supervision of all the projects based on the Hudson, despite the fact that the Minutes place Newburgh, which now appears for the first time, in a district whose other circuits were in New Jersey. In the years immediately involved, as elsewhere noted, the General Minutes are subject to corrections to harmonize them with evidence furnished by contemporary authorities. The Minutes for 1789 show Garrettson as presiding elder and Thomas Morrell as elder over ten circuits, nine of which were in New York and one in Connecticut. The term "presiding elder" was a term that appeared in this year only until it came into permanent vogue eight years later. After the close of the conference which met May 28 in New York, Garrettson had a meeting of the preachers of his district, all of whom were young men, for, as he stated, Bishop Asbury had "requested me to take charge of them, and do the best I could." He then "gave them directions where to begin and which way to form their circuits," after which he personally launched out upon an itinerary of three months, on returning from which he had covered a thousand miles and had preached a hundred sermons. It is conclusive that the impulse and guidance that sent Nathaniel B. Mills into the Wyoming Valley was furnished by that master minister, Freeborn Garrettson who functioned as a sub-bishop without having the prerogatives of the episcopal office. It is also evident that though Garrettson's districts were differently constituted in the ensuing years, it was his missionary passion, his strategy and directing hand that caused Joseph Lovell to penetrate the Valley in 1790 and that designated James Campbell in 1791 as Wyoming's first circuit rider. The previous year Campbell had been on Garrettson's Albany district. When nine years later Garrettson was again the presiding elder of the Albany district he unquestionably came into Northeastern Pennsylvania in visiting the Tioga circuit which was on his district.

In 1792 Robert Cloud<sup>17</sup> was listed as an elder for the second time, having oversight of a group of circuits that included, in this order, Wyoming, Tioga, Newburgh, Flanders, Elizabethtown and Staten Island. Though William Hardesty<sup>18</sup> was named for Wyoming, neither records nor tradition warrant the belief that he accepted the appointment. His ministerial career reveals similar irregularities up to 1801 when he located. It appears that Anthony Turck, who was received on trial the following year, filled out Hardesty's term, serving as a local preacher under the direct appointment of the elder. The Tioga circuit, organized one year later than the Wyoming, was orginally a part of the latter circuit. It was in this region that the Indian Queen Esther had presided only a short time previously. Now that the Indians had moved out of the country settlers were again moving in, especially several from down the Susquehanna, who had lived here before the trouble with the red men. Inasmuch as certain

of these were Methodist families the need was recognized for the formation of the Tioga circuit whose southern bounds were at Wyalusing and whose northern limits were undefined in the Finger Lakes region of New York. It is probable that John Hill, who was the first preacher to be appointed to charge, failed to put in his appearance. At this time the membership<sup>20</sup> at Wyoming was 106 and at Tioga 71. Hill located in 1796 after only eight years as an itinerant.

The fluidity and impermanence of the ministry in the early times is illustrated in the case of Robert Cloud whose service ranged over thirty years during part of which he was inactive. The General Minutes of 1779 show that he was one of two to "desist from traveling," albeit his name had not appeared in the records of previous years. Beginning with 1785 he was in the active ministry for nine years, including 1791 and 1792 when he was given as in charge of the group of circuits that involved Wyoming, and as being at Chester the following year. After being located for fifteen years he put in four years of service in the Western conference, locating permanently in 1813.

Whether or not Cloud actually served any part of the second year for which he was appointed to this group of circuits, namely, the year 1792-93, is a matter of conjecture, for at some time in that term he was succeeded by Thomas Ware, a protege of Francis Asbury, who became one of the eminent leaders of early Methodism. A more extensive account of Ware and his labors will be presented later.

#### WILLIAM COLBERT ON THE FRONTIER

During the period of Ware's incumbency on the "Susquehanna District," which began in the summer of 1792 and continued till late October, 1793, there came upon the scene one of the most interesting, one of the most devout, though not the most forceful of all personages of the entire period. Abel Stevens,<sup>21</sup> one of Methodism's ablest historians, complained of the paucity of records pertaining to the region and times under consideration, saying, "Of no section of the church have we fewer published accounts of the vigorous societies and powerful men of the Middle States, and the historian, in gathering together the scattered fragments of his material, must feel painfully that he can construct of them no narrative commensurate with the importance of the traditional estimation of this portion of the denomination." People of these times, however, were making records, not writing them, and they were unaware of the significance to posterity of the things they were doing. Whether or not they were capable of producing literature is another question. But there are some notable instances wherein exceptions to Dr. Stevens' criticism may be well taken. One of these is in the case of William Colbert, pioneer preacher, who left a priceless Journal of life, particularly of the years after he became a minister. True, this Journal as yet has not appeared in print. But even at that time it was accessible in the original

manuscript, and is now available in carbon copies. It is a most ingenuous and engaging self-portraiture of the mind and moods of the man himself, together with his reactions to the people and conditions of the times. His notations of the Scripture he used is a study in itself.

Willian Colbert<sup>22</sup> was born of English parents in Poolville, Md., April 20, 1764. After his mother's death when he was eighteen years of age he lived with his father. He described himself and his father as being "destitute of religion" at the time. At the age of twenty-one he was led to listen to Methodist preaching and gave his heart to God. By 1789 he became convinced that it was his "duty to call sinners to repentance." Not long afterward Nelson Reed, an elder, sent him to fill a vacancy on the Calumet circuit, where he continued till September, 1790, when he was assigned to the Baltimore circuit, John Allen being the senior preacher. The following year Colbert was the junior preacher on the Harford circuit, being associated with Joseph Cromwell.

It is impossible to harmonize the records in the General Minutes with certain statements found in Peck's Early Methodism or to reconcile either the Minutes or Peck's history with Colbert's Journal. In such instances the Journal should be regarded as the best authority for many reasons. The Minutes are a compilation of the data of several annual conferences that were held at various times and in places far removed from each other. The sessions of the conferences did not coincide with the calendar year and sometimes were more or less than a year apart in their convening, resulting in much confusion in the records. Although the appointments supposedly were made before the adjournment of a conference there were instances in which they either were not made or were not recorded in the Minutes, and other instances in which they were made or changed after adjournment without a corresponding notation in the records. In several cases the name of a preacher appears in connection with two different appointments, as is true of Valentine Cook who in 1793 was listed for Clarksburg, (W. Va.,) and also as the elder in charge of a group of circuits that included Wyoming and Tioga. Moreover, it is clear that there were some preachers who did not go to their assignments and many whose appointments were changed during the intermission between conferences. These and other conditions require the conclusion that while the Minutes are valuable as a framework upon which to construct historical statements they are tentative rather than infallible and need evidence from other sources for confirmation or correction.

As already stated it is pretty certain that William Hardesty<sup>23</sup> and John Hill, who were named for the Wyoming and Tioga circuits respectively in 1792, did not fill their assignments. It should also be noted that in the same year James Campbell and William Colbert<sup>24</sup> were appointed to the Northumberland circuit at the conference held in Baltimore in June. The Minutes do not show when the

latter was received on trial, which may have happened between conference sessions, but do show that he remained on trial in 1790 and 1791. A year later he is credited with having been received into full membership but make no notation of his having been ordained a deacon, which would be the normal procedure. His Journal reveals that he attended the General Conference in Baltimore in early November of 1792, and that on the 6th of the month he and James Thomas<sup>25</sup> were ordained elders, a fact that appears in the Minutes for 1793. From this General Conference, which seems to have served as an annual conference as far as appointments were concerned, Colbert was sent "to fill the station of Wyoming and Tioga." It is fair to assume that Thomas went to Wyoming and that the two men alternated at the two points for the Journal shows that after Colbert had traveled around the Tioga circuit for four or five months Thomas appeared at Tioga in April, 1793, just prior to the departure of Colbert and Thomas Ware for Wyoming. Thomas had served five other circuits one year each before coming into this section, having been received on trial and appointed to Fairfax, Va., in 1788. For the conference year 1793-94 he was listed for Tioga. The next year his name does not appear, but a year later it is included among those who have located.

Late in November, 1792, Colbert was traversing through the scenes that had become familiar to him during the five months intervening between the regular conference session and that of the General Conference. Sunday, Dec. 2, he passed out of the Northumberland into the Wyoming circuit and arrived at Nanticoke where for the second time in his life he heard a sermon by a Presbyterian minister. The discourse, which he considered good, was delivered by the Reverend Andrew Gray who preached in the home of Shubal Bidlack from II Cor. 4:17. That evening he lodged at the home of Aaron Hunt, where he occupied one of three beds that were brought out and laid on the floor. Colbert's whimsical attitude toward children, which crops out again and again in his Journal, is contained in a sentence he inscribed in his Journal at this time. He commented that the children of the home were not well-mannered, because they would not kneel at prayers when requested so to do.

In Colbert's inimitable language the account proceeds:

"Monday, 3. This morning set off for Tioga; got to Lackawanna in the afternoon, where I fed my horse at Baldwin's tavern, on the bank of the Susquehanna. I traveled on, thinking that when I got to Dalytown<sup>27</sup> I would get some refreshment for myself; but I was so unfortunate as to wander into an uninhabited wilderness, till the gloomy wings of starless and moonless night began to cover me. I was miles from the habitation of any human being, in the cold month of December, surrounded by howling, ravening wolves and greedy bears. Inferring from several chunks (extinguished firebrands), lying by a brook that some solitary traveler must have taken up his lodging here, and that there could be no house near, I turned my horse about and measured back my weary steps the rough and solitary way I came. And through the merciful providence of God

I returned to the settlement and got a night's quarters at one Scott's, where I thought myself well off in getting a little Indian bread and butter for my supper. After some religious conversation, and prayer with the family, I lay down in a filthy cabin to take a little rest, after a day of hard toil.

"Tuesday, 4. Paid one and sixpence for my accommodations—the man was moderate in his charge-and being impatient to see Dalytown, I set off without my breakfast. But O perplexing! I missed my way again; and after traveling up a lofty mountain found the road wound around down the river and it brought me in sight of the house I had left. I then attempted to keep the river side, but this was impracticable, so I had to turn back again, glad enough to get out of the narrows. This morning breakfasted on a frozen turnip. I called at a house, wanting something for me and my horse, but the uncomfortable reply, 'No bread,' again was heard. However, here I got something for my horse, and at a house a little distance off I got something for my almost starved self, at the moderate price of a fivepenny bit. So strengthened and refreshed, I crossed a towering mountain to Dalytown, that long desired place. But how am I mistaken! Instead of finding a tavern here, where man and horse might be refreshed, the ideal Dalytown vanished, and the real one-a smoky log cabin or two-heaved in view. I lodged at old Mr. Jones's. The old man I met by the way; the old woman and a girl were at home. I spent the evening very agreeably with them, reading the Life of John Haime. May I never murmur at a few hardships in such a work.

"Wednesday, 5. A day or two of rest would have been very agreeable to me; but as the old woman expressed much satisfaction at the favorableness of the day to the traveler, I bid her farewell, with thanks, and reached Teague's (now Russell's) Hill, (between Tunkhannock and Meshoppen), a miserable place indeed, kept by one Mulson. It was almost sunset when I got there; the next house was about six miles off, and a very gloomy way to it; so on the dirty top of Teague's Hill I have to stay, with two hunters, a young woman, and the man and his wife. I took up my lodging on some old clothes, with my head in the chimney corner.

"Thursday, 6. Rejoicing at the return of the morning, I paid two and sixpence for my accommodations, and set off on my journey. It is really hard times with me. I had to sell one of Wesley's funeral sermons for sixpence that I should have had eleven pence for, to help pay my reckoning. I rode six miles before I got anything for my poor horse. At Wigdon's, at Meshoppen, I called for something for my horse, and some smoky, dirty corn was brought.<sup>28</sup> But as for myself, I thought I would wait a little longer before I would eat in such a filthy place. I talked with the filthy woman, who was sitting over ashes with three or four dirty children in the chimney-corner, about the salvation of her soul. She was kind; she took nothing for what I had; so I proceeded on my journey, and arrived at Gideon Baldwin's, the lowest house on my Tioga circuit. They received me kindly, and got me something to eat. I have traveled over hills and mountains without breakfast or dinner."

Colbert's frequent complaints about the squalor that was so prevalent was partly due to the refinement of his background and his own sensitiveness to such conditions. But they were valid criticisms of what he experienced along the Susquehanna. The dirt and filth may be inexcusable though they are understandable. They were directly related to the poverty of the people but also are an index of their lack of incentive and desire for culture such as issue from the Christian religion. It is a question whether or not Colbert and others of his

time recognized the relation between godliness and cleanliness. As for the scarcity of food, especially bread, Colbert was to discover that there was nothing unusual about this among the people on the frontier. Corn, not wheat, was the staple grain. The difficulty of converting corn into meal as well as the necessity of having it ground at a distance was such that even corn bread was a scarcity. Only the thriftier families could fairly entertain people other than the members of their own household. Evidently the Baldwins belonged to this group and extended the hospitality of their home most generously to itinerants who passed that way or who tarried awhile. Gideon Baldwin lived at the lower end of Wyalusing,<sup>29</sup> not far from the creek after which the settlement was named. It was some fourteen miles from Meshoppen and was the southern extreme of the Tioga circuit.

Colbert spent Friday and Saturday in resting as well as in reading the Bible and biographies of distinguished preachers. Saturday evening he gave an address on the Beatitudes from Mat. 5:1-12. On Sunday he preached in the home of Guy Wells<sup>30</sup> on the subject of repentance, using Acts 3:19. After the discourse an elderly Baptist minister by the name of Stafford spoke in a controversial vein from the strange text found in the Songs of Solomon, 2:10, emphasizing the notion that Christ had done all that needed to be done, leaving nothing for man to do.

Guy Wells was the son of one of the early settlers who were killed in the Battle of Wyoming. Having been born in New London, Conn., in 1766, he came with his family to Wyoming in his youth, and in 1790 married Elizabeth, the daughter of Perrin Ross. At some time prior to the coming of Colbert, Wells had settled about three miles up the creek from Wyalusing. Along the same stream his brothers Reuben and Amasa were neighbors. He became active in the promotion of the church and opened his home as a stopping place for circuit riders. He was also interested in civic affairs, becoming in 1800 one of the three justices of the peace.

There was another family living up the creek by the name of Pierce. Their home was near Camptown and was the second preaching place on the Tioga circuit. Here Colbert preached to a few people on Monday. Oddly enough the Pierces, who were inclined to Calvinism, were not well adapted to Methodist teachings or usages, although both Mr. and Mrs. Pierce were members of the class at Baldwin's. Mrs. Pierce particularly denied that after once a person is converted it is possible for him to fall from grace. She was, however, a woman of deep religious experience.

After lodging at Baldwin's, Colbert on Tuesday went to Burney's,<sup>31</sup> which was his third preaching engagement. The sermon was on hungering and thirsting after righteousness, Mat. 5:8. Henry Burney, or Birney, whose wife was a Shears, was a native of Ireland, having come to Plymouth in 1773. A year or

two later he moved to Standing Stone. On the breaking out of the Revolution he moved back to Plymouth and entered the Continental army, in which he served most of the time until the close of the war. After conditions became stabilized he returned to Standing Stone in 1791. Colbert, in company with Cornelius Marrs, rode from Burney's to the Roberts home but could not enjoy himself on account of the filth of the people. It was too much even for a missionary to condone.

On Wednesday Colbert reached his fourth preaching place which was at Elijah Townsend's, near Wysox, where he discoursed on Rev. 22:17. Commenting on the situation at this point, he remarked: "In this place Satan had been sowing the seeds of discord in the society. I expect to have trouble with this people." Passing on from there he and his companion rode across Breakneck Hill,<sup>31</sup> which he described as "a horrid precipice." This famous spot is a few miles above Towanda but on the east side of the Susquehanna. When General Sullivan marched against the Indians in 1779 he had very great difficulty especially in getting his military equipment past this declivity, which drops abruptly 180 feet to the river. Easterly from the road the hill rises rather sharply to a high altitude. There is a legend that an Indian squaw on a wager for whiskey leaped to her death on the rocks along the stream.

Mat. 5:4 was the text from which on Thursday Colbert preached in the home of Nathan Brown, whose house he considered the most comfortable he had been in since leaving Northumberland. Host and hostess proved to be "very kind people." In the congregation, as his Journal noted, were a few Baptists. The Browns lived at what Colbert called "New Sheshequin," but which now is simply Sheshequin. The "Old Sheshequin" of that day is the Ulster of today, on the west side of the river. From Brown's, which was his fifth preaching place, Colbert moved on into New York to visit four other established points. Incredible as it may seem, after an absence of only four days he was back at the same home. The message he gave at this time was based on II Cor. 13:4 and was an exhortation to self-examination. Very likely as is the case often with ministers, he took it very much to his own heart, causing himself to inscribe in his diary, "Wretch that I am! I ought to be thankful for the freedom I sometimes have in speaking. If I should be an instrument in the hands of God of saving any, it will be a great blessing, should I ever be lost; but no blessing to me."

On Dec. 19 Colbert rode the three miles to Breakneck Hill and crossed the river to the home of a Mr. Foster who lived on Sugar Creek, at or near North Towanda. On learning at Foster's that no appointment had been made for him he recrossed the river. The Mr. Blackman who took him across chided him for his Methodist doctrines, singling out, as did so many critics in those days, the doctrines of Christian perfection and of falling from grace. In carrying on the

discussion Colbert quoted Mat. 5:48, "Be ye perfect, as your Father which is in heaven is perfect," but finally decided it was useless to talk with one who would not keep to a definite line of reasoning. Farther on his way he tells of another contact. "I overtook an old man with a keg of whiskey on his back. I thought he was drunk, but he received what I said kindly." That night he "exhorted at friend Townsend's with freedom."

Zigzagging his course and sometimes doubling back on his trail, Colbert went to what he called "Shuffield's Flats," passing through "the narrows on the Susquehanna." Shoefeldt's Flats<sup>33</sup> had its name from Peter Shoefeldt, or Sheufeldt, who came from Orange county, N. Y., and established himself in Frenchtown in May, 1770, his family being one of the first to penetrate into this section. Six years later he sold his lands to Jacob Forsyth and moved to the West Branch of the Susquehanna where he was killed by the Indians. These flats, in a beautiful bend on the west side of the river half a dozen miles below Towanda, were acquired in 1793 for members of the nobility who came as refugees from the French Revolution, and became known as Azylum, or Asylum, and later as Frenchtown. It is strange that neither now nor later did Colbert mention this settlement which was recognized by leading Americans, was visited by Louis Philippe, Talleyrand and other distinguished persons, and was the residence of many Frenchmen during the ten years of its history.

Friday, Dec. 21, Colbert remained on the Flats, spending his time in reading and writing. That evening he met a class, the first thus far on the circuit. To the members he read the church rules, "desiring to know whether they want to continue in society." At this point Charles Townley withdrew, explaining that he did not believe one could fall from grace and perish forever. Colbert, still on the Flats, preached at "a friendly man's house by the name of Alexander," his text being I Cor. 6:19-20, which speaks of the body as "a temple of the Holy Spirit." His Journal expressed the "hope that general satisfaction was given."

At the request of a friend Colbert spent Saturday in visiting, but questioned the value of passing the time that way. Late in the day, accompanied by James Rice, he had difficulty in going through the Narrows in returning to Gideon Baldwin's in Wyalusing. His companion very likely was the man of the same name who later resided in Trucksville. Arriving now at the starting point Colbert had made a complete round of the Tioga circuit in two weeks. Meantime he had evidently accepted some engagements not on the regular schedule.

### COLBERT'S WINTER ON THE TIOGA CIRCUIT

For four months Colbert continued his itinerary of the Tioga circuit during the severest season of the year. Excepting as interrupted by weather and other conditions he usually made the rounds of the circuit in two weeks, during which he preached by day and by night as it might chance. Whether or not the work

became monotonous, it would be monotonous to follow in detail all that he put into the day-by-day account recorded in his Journal. Several days out of each fortnight he labored in New York. But within Pennsylvania there were many homes which he visited, sometimes very briefly, at other times staying a few days. It was in these homes that he held preaching services or meetings for prayer. Not often were there many in his congregations, sometimes only a very few besides the immediate family. In reading Colbert's Journal one becomes familiar with family names, beginning at the lower end of his circuit at Wyalusing or on Wyalusing creek and then traveling up the Susquehanna. Some of the more familiar names include, among others: Guy Wells and Gideon Baldwin to begin with, the Burneys at Standing Stone, the Townsends near Wysox, the Parshalls up stream, the Hortons at Breakneck Hill, the Greens and Nathan Brown's at Sheshequin, all on the east side of the river. On the west side were such names as Solomon Franklin, the Coles, James Rice, the Alexanders and Mayhues, several of whom were at or near Shoefeldt's Flats, Stephen Baldwin and the Fosters on Sugar creek, and Benjamin Luce and Capt. Clark at Ulster, and Daniel Mineer on Queen Esther's Flats below Athens.

It requires but little imagination to appreciate the hazards and hardships a circuit rider would incur in meeting his engagements in this region in the dead of winter. Because of the distribution of his preaching places on both sides of the Susquehanna it was necessary for Colbert to resort to various expedients in making the frequent crossings of a stream that was rugged and had no bridges, especially at the time of year. Whenever possible he forded the river at its shallower sections. Where the water was deep he would swim his horse across. On the last day of January of this year he states that he "rode<sup>34</sup> the river" to the western side. This method was very dangerous as upon more than one occasion his horse fell through the ice to its neck. There were times when he found it advisable to use a boat in making the crossings. His Journal frequently speaks of the problem presented by "the Narrows" where precipitous walls of rocks rising from near the water's edge required wide detours. Again and again he was exposed to storms of rain or snow.

An instance of Colbert's travel experiences is given in his own language under date of Feb. 13, 1793, as he was returning from one of his periodic tours in the lake region of New York. Here is his entry:

"I thank God that I was not killed or crippled coming through the Narrows between Tioga Point (Athens) and New Sheshequin. It snowed hard, and my horse balling made the riding very unpleasant on the best of roads; but when I came to where the water flowing from the precipice was frozen and covered with snow, it became intolerable. So I had to dismount, and was driven to the dangerous alternative of going on the ice on the side of the river. The ice broke into large pieces as I led my horse, and let me down into the water more than knee deep. I had to exert myself to keep my horse from plunging on me. By a kind Providence I was enabled to mount him, and he took me

through. By the time I was well out my surtout was frozen as stiff as a horn, but I felt no cold. I soon rode to Nathan Brown's and was not sorry that the people did not come to preaching this dismal night, after I had had such a distressing journey."

A couple of families visited by Colbert warrant something more than the mere mention of their names. One of these is the family of Samuel Cole<sup>35</sup> whom he called "Old Man Cole," and who came from Gageborough, Berkshire Co., Mass., in 1775, and after a year in Wilkes-Barre settled in Macedonia, just below Towanda, on lands similar to those of Asylum and midway between that place and Towanda. His holdings reached from the Susquehanna to the mountains on the west. When hostilities broke out he removed to Wyoming. Samuel Cole, a son, and Joseph Budd, a son-in-law, were killed in the decimating Battle of Wyoming. Another son, Elisha, 36 born Aug. 15, 1769, became a local preacher and in 1794, supplying a circuit in New Jersey, and the following year in Delaware. Subsequently he lived on the old homestead, the family having returned there after the war. Completing a long life of usefulness as a Christian layman, and favorably regarded for his hospitality to the itinerant preachers, he was honorably mentioned as "Father Cole." Elisha Cole's sister Mary was unhappily married to a man by the name of Culverson for her second husband. He it was whom Mrs. Burney reproved for his rudeness to Colbert in her home. Later Mary became deranged, the implication being that her insanity was due to domestic trouble. It is possible that she had a predisposition toward insanity, for Colbert said of her at the time of his visit, "She is a great enthusiast, and has a turn for poetry." In her later years "Aunt Polly" was an object of pity and at the same time a source of amusement. She obtruded herself on all occasions and talked garrulously, often with wit and humor. When her brother tried to repress her she would turn on him with frantic screams. On one occasion Judge Gore tried to subdue her by threatening to put her in jail. Thereupon she hastened home and began to rip out all the gores in her garments. Thereafter she held that gores were from the devil, and she would not have anything to do with them or it. Nevertheless this demented soul always carried her well-worn Bible about with her, having a special pocket in her dress for that purpose. She not only quoted Scripture extensively but also sang the church hymns. Other sons of Samuel Cole were: Solomon, Abisha and John.

Another family was that of Captain Benjamin Clark<sup>37</sup> who migrated from Tolland Co., Conn., and was one of the first to build a house on the "town plat" of what is now Wilkes-Barre. He served seven years in the Revolutionary army, being in the detachment that came to relieve the settlers after the Wyoming disaster, and also in Sullivan's expedition against the Indians a year later. Among the first to move up the Susequehanna at the close of the war, he came to Frenchtown in 1784 and then to Ulster in the spring of the following year, when he built a log house on river bank. Like others he had difficulties about the title to

his property, but finally made the requisite payments for purchasing under the state regulations. Captain Clark was an ardent Federalist as well as an earnest Methodist. His home was one of the regular preaching places of the itinerants and afforded generous hospitality to these homeless men whenever they came into this neighborhood. It was in the Clark home there occurred the conversion of Henry B. Bascom<sup>38</sup> under the ministry of Loring Grant who was pastor at Tioga in 1810-11. Bascom united with the Methodist Episcopal church, became a minister, and ultimately was a distinguished bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Mr. Clark's household was large. His first wife had five children, dying at the age of twenty-three, one week after giving birth to twins. The captain's second wife was Keziah Yarrington, of Stonington, Conn. She also had been married previously, her first husband having been Silas Gore, one of three brothers slain in the famous Battle. Mrs. Clark was the mother of seven children, three by her former marriage and four after marrying Captain Clark. In 1818 the Clarks<sup>39</sup> moved out West.

An interesting study could be made of the texts used by William Colbert which he selected with the people and the times in mind. His texts were not casual for his sermons had definite purposes to serve. They were chosen from a fairly wide range of the books of the Bible, the Gospels predominating, and the Gospel of St. Matthew in particular. Frequently passages from the Sermon on the Mount were used, making application of the practical side of religion. In the Old Tesament the books of Job, the Psalms and some of the Prophets had their share of attention. Many of his messages were urgent in their warnings and appeals. One of his texts was Amos 4:12, "Prepare to meet thy God." Another was Heb. 2:3, "How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation?" Not infrequently his messages had to do with phases of the contemporary doctrinal controversies which occupied so much of the thinking of the people in that age. Calvinism was prevalent and its theses were accepted alike by saint and sinner. Again and again Colbert was taken to task for advancing the belief that salvation is contingent upon the faith of each individual without an arbitrary divine election, and the corollary of this belief, namely, that only as long as a person continues to have faith does he continue to be saved. To many of his hearers it was an intolerable assumption that one who has been saved can also "fall from grace" and be eternally lost. Opposed to this teaching was the belief of those who held to the conviction of "the final perseverance of the saints."

The Calvinists were not the only group that contended against the preaching of Colbert. There were many and ardent Universalists in his field as well. On a certain Sunday he preached at Guy Wells', in the morning using as his text, I Cor. 13:13, and in the afternoon, Mat. 13:31 and 32, passages which on their face do not suggest controversial subjects. However, between the services he was challenged by a Universalist who criticized his position, and who explained

that he believed a man would not be punished but only his sin. In response Colbert asked the man what would be the result, if a criminal who was about to be punished should claim that not he but his crime should be punished. He felt that his morning sermon was effective, even though the annoyance of the children made it of little or no value. Monday he went with Mr. Baldwin to call on an elderly woman by the name of York, previously mentioned. This Presbyterian woman, a confirmed Calvinist, considered him a heretic, and held that anyone who had become a child of God could not forfeit that relationship even though afterward he should be guilty of adultry or murder! In the course of the long altercation she referred disparagingly to the collection Colbert had announced to be taken later. This led Colbert to believe that the real reason for her violent attitude was her opposition to the collection. Two days later while he was housed in on account of roads made impassable by heavy rains he meditated upon the perplexities facing the work, considering they were not so much physical as doctrinal. The combined opposition of the Presbyterians, Baptists and Universalists tended to undermine his teachings on Christian Perfection, and to confuse the people by asserting that it is needless for them to do anything as Christ had done all for them. Of all the hostile tenets that of Calvinism presented the most serious problem.

The Journal shows that Colbert was not always on the go. He did give some time to reading which included not only the Bible but various other books or pamphlets. On one occasion he expressed regret that he did not spend more time in such occupation, although it is easy to understand that traveling about as he did and with very little opportunity for seclusion it naturally would be difficult to read to advantage. Among the things he read he mentions: Fletcher's works, Tillotson's sermon against Atheism, and a brochure by Samuel Wetherell who undertook to prove that Christ did not suffer in behalf of man, and that therefore his righteousness was not imputed to man. Colbert hesitated to assent to these notions, though both he and Wetherell were averse to Antinomianism on the one hand and Calvinism on the other.

At least during the earlier years of Colbert's ministry he had one conspicuous infirmity that was an impediment to his efficiency as a preacher. From time to time it comes out in his diary that he was unable to cope with noisy youngsters, if they were present in his congregation. This man who could brave the perils of the Susquehanna in winter was far more easily perturbed by noisy children during a service, as is illustrated by his notation for Sunday, Feb. 17, 1793. He wrote:

"I preached at Guy Well's (sic). Soon after I read my text I knew not but I should be obliged to sit down and say nothing, as there were so many noisy children present; but their noise abated, and I made out, through the assistance of God, to speak with satisfaction. By what I hear I suppose the people in these parts think I have a very weak head, because I cannot preach when there are a number of children about me bawling louder than I can speak."

His text was Mat. 26:41, which would have been very appropriate for him to apply to himself on that particular occasion!

Sampling a few days of Colbert's experiences we find that after preaching at Wells' from a favorite text in Amos he was informed that a drunken man man in the audience was disgusted with his prayer, misunderstanding him to say he thanked God that he had made men capable of saving themselves. Another recently used text, Mat 22:1-2, was taken Monday evening at Wells'. Again a drunken man was present, greatly annoying the preacher by his interruptions. On New Year's day, 1793, he exhorted at Burney's and at Townsend's. At the latter place he heard Nathan Brown give an address and was greatly impressed by the message of this layman, but expressed doubts as to his usefulness because of his Calvinistic leanings. On Wednesday he used another familiar text at the home of Captain Clark in Ulster, I Cor. 6:19-20. From his experiences at Clark's he had this to say:

"The woman of this house put me in mind of Martha. I had not much satisfaction in preaching; attention was wanting. After meeting in came Squire Murray, a Universalist, a believer in eternal justification. I believe he is an ungodly man. He says he was once a public speaker among the Baptists, and thought Christ died for only a part of mankind, and that none of those for whom Christ died could perish; and now he says he believes Christ died for all, and that none will be lost. I felt sorry that I spent so much time arguing with him."

Sunday, March 31st, Colbert used as a text verses 24 to 29, chapter 5, of an unnamed book of the Bible, possibly the Gospel of St. John. Although four weeks before he had announced a collection, and although Mr. Baldwin mentioned it, there was no response and no collection taken. He felt that he would be happy, if such situations were the only problems he had to encounter. A week later while in the New York section of his circuit he took two collections amounting to a little more than three dollars, or, expressed in the currency of the times, in one place, "21 shillings and 3d," and in the other, "4/10."

After the usual round of engagements in New York Colbert on Thursday, April 11, returned to Townsend's where a new chapter opened, for there he met Thomas Ware, 40 who in the midst of the year 1792-93 had been lifted out of the Staten Island circuit to be made the elder over the group of circuits that included Wyoming, Tioga and part of New Jersey. Evidently this was the first time the two men had met. With Ware was James Thomas who had come north with Colbert from the General Conference the previous November. Contrary to what appears in the General Minutes it is probable that Thomas had been working on the Wyoming circuit while Colbert was at Tioga and that now they were about to exchange their fields of labor.

Thomas Ware was born in Greenwich, N. J., Dec. 19, 1758, and died in Salem in the same state on March 11, 1842. At the time of his death he had the reputation of being the oldest traveling preacher in the United States, as was the case with Garrettson. From his reception on trial in 1773 to 1825 he was continuously in the effective relation with the exception of the year 1809 when he was a supernumerary. Several times he filled the office of presiding elder of important districts in addition to the years in which he had pastoral responsibilities. For the quadrennium, 1812-16, he was associated with Daniel Hitt as one of the editors and book stewards of the denomination. In 1825 he became a supernumerary, a relation which he sustained for fifteen years, much of this time receiving regular appointments as a supply preacher. Becoming superannuated in 1840, he survived as such for less than two years, passing away at the age of eighty-three. His "Life and Travels of Thomas Ware" not only presents the man and his work but also the contemporary scenes through which he passed. In this volume Ware corroborates the General Minutes as to his appointment to the Staten Island circuit in 1792. However, his "Life" reveals a fact not shown in the Minutes, which is that after a brief period on the circuit he was given charge of what he called the "Susquehanna district." As the term "district" was not used officially prior to 180141 the expression was an anachronism which he employed when writing at a much later date.

Ware described the way from the New Jersey part of his district to Wyoming as being "dreary enough: and from thence to Tioga, all but impassable, especially in the winter." The first time he attempted the journey to Tioga in the cold weather he encountered grievous hardships. Where the Susquehanna breaks through the mountain range near Pittston the road was so full of ice he was unable to follow it. He therefore undertook the dangerous expedient of riding his horse upon the frozen river. In doing this he was in imminent peril of death because the ice which had broken into large cakes had again congealed, presenting jagged, upturned edges and miniature chasms. Never before had anyone attempted to take that route under such conditions, as he was told. Had he chosen some other route it would have required many more additional miles.

Aside from the Methodists<sup>42</sup> there seemed to be almost no one who cared about the poor people in the wilderness. An apparent exception was an instance involving one who claimed to be a Baptist preacher but who proved to be an impostor. At Tioga this man undertook to controvert the Methodist preacher laboring in those parts, but without success. Frequently it was necessary to deal courageously with the prejudice and opposition raised against Methodist doctrines. By way of illustration there was a Dutch Reformed minister named Benscoter, whom Ware met one day while traveling on the district. Benscoter picked on Ware, claiming that the Methodist preachers were an ignorant lot

who despised learning, knew not the Scriptures and were teachers of false doctrines, particularly mentioning their Arminian teachings and their ideas about falling from grace. Benscoter warned his people against the Methodists and tried in every way to destroy their influence and to render their work negligible. However, he stood in his own light when he purposely delayed the baptism of an infant, evidently waiting to ensure a fee. Ultimately the child was baptized by a Methodist preacher who, according to the usage of his church, could make no charge. The outcome of this mercenary policy was to pave the way for the introduction of Methodism into Benscoter's parish in spite of his efforts to counteract the "heresy" by renewed activity in instructing his flock. The location of this parish is not described beyond Ware's statement in which he said, "I passed through it every quarter on my way to Wyoming." He added this comment as to Benscoter's members: "I verily believe I never knew a people more grossly ignorant in matters of religion than many of them were." Whether or not the Dutch Reformed minister is to be identified with another by the name of Elias Benscoten, mentioned elsewhere, is a question.

On Friday, April 12, after Colbert was joined by James Thomas and Thomas Ware, the latter preached at Townsend's on the words, "Our Father which art in heaven," Mat. 6:9. Next day he spoke at Brown's from Micah 7:7, and conducted the quarterly meeting, Thomas exhorting. That evening at the schoolhouse the elder announced Luke 10:41-42 as his text. Sunday's love feast was at Green's. At the schoolhouse Thomas delivered a discourse on John 7:37-38, and was followed by Colbert who exhorted. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered after Ware expounded Luke 22:19. It was a new experience for Colbert to share in such a service.

On Monday Ware and Colbert took passage by boat down the Susquehanna, traveling from early morning till dark. Stopping for the night at a cabin on the bank, it was impossible to obtain straw for a bed. Ware slept on a chest, using some tow for a pillow, while Colbert took some hay from the boat, which he divided with a fellow passenger. Next day they reached Wilkes-Barre about noon. The morning's ride was so pleasant Colbert felt he would be glad to have continued the trip farther, if he could be sure the other men on the boat would behave themselves as well as they had thus far. In Wilkes-Barre the two men dined at Mann's<sup>43</sup> and then rode to Richard Inman's in nearby Buttonwood to the southwest. In his Journal Colbert noted that Mrs. Inman was a Calvinist. Inman himself was not actively religious at the time but later became a Methodist. Three of his brothers were slain in the famous Battle from which he narrowly escaped.

Tuesday, in reviewing his labors on the Tioga circuit, Colbert had a sense of discouragement. He had spent four months and eight days in a section most difficult for travel and among a people who were irresponsive and even hostile

to his preaching. He might have added that his toil was at a time of year when the elements were the most severe, and that his total remuneration<sup>44</sup> was three dollars and fourteen cents! He does not appear so critical of the conditions under which he labored as critical of himself as a laborer. It is not a complaint but a confession when he declares: "I lived hard and labored hard, but fear I did but little good. I joined but three in society while I was there; but I think there is prospect of good being done. May the labors of my successor be blessed more than mine have been." It should be noted that Tioga, which appeared in the Minutes<sup>45</sup> for the first time in 1792, had at that time only 71 members, and that the report for the next year was one less, whereas the report for 1794 revealed 113 members. The latter figure may have been affected by an increase in the number of the societies on the circuit as well as by an increase in the population. We have no means of knowing how many members of the families in whose homes Colbert preached were also members of the several classes. We likewise have no way of knowing how many of the members reported resided in Pennsylvania and how many in New York. Obviously the "successor" of whom he speaks without mentioning his name was none other than James Thomas who had arrived with the elder.

## IV. Significant Progress

#### COLBERT IN WYOMING AND NORTHUMBERLAND

Wednesday, April Seventeen, 1793, Colbert began his labors on the Wyoming circuit, hopeful that he might prove to the people his genuine interest in their welfare. Ware left the same day for other points on his district. On the 18th Colbert was at Ashbel Waller's in Careytown. Friday he went to Nanticoke, lodging at Aaron Hunt's, which had been his first stopping place when he was on his way from the General Conference to Tioga. That evening he gave an exhortation at the home of Shubal Bidlack. His Journal for Saturday has this entry:

"I have seen twenty-nine years this day. Amid many difficulties and dangers I have been preserved by the providence of God. O, that the remainder of my days may be spent to His glory! I dined with three of our Methodist sisters in a mill. A birthday festival! Rode to Wilkes-Barre, called at my old friend Mann's, where I was kindly received. Wanting my boots mended, I carried them to the prison under the court house, to a prisoner, as there was no shoemaker in town, and paid him double what he asked me for mending them, as he was a poor prisoner. Sunday, 21. The prison was evacuated, and only one of my boots was mended; he probably had not time to mend both. I preached in the court house in the morning on Mark 6:12, and in the afternoon at Richard Inman's on II Cor. 19:5."

As a matter of public policy the county court house was made available to the ministers of the various denominations. As yet there were almost no church buildings, in spite of the original provision of the Connecticut Company allotting one parcel of ground in each township for such purposes. Probably the first edifice¹ to be erected in this section, as stated elsewhere, was sponsored by the Lancaster Presbyterians, and was located somewhere in Hanover township. However, this structure soon disappeared without leaving trace or tradition as to where it stood. By 1793 two churches² of a sort were built in Hanover Green, some four miles south of Wilkes-Barre. One was a small structure belonging to the Methodists. The other was larger and belonged to the Presbyterians. Though both were used, neither was completed. Twenty-five years later they were in a state af decay.

Monday, the 22nd, Colbert spent in the homes of the Wallers, the Burnetts and the Hunts, the Burnetts living between Careytown and Nanticoke. Tuesday evening he preached at Hunt's from Luke 12:32, and had an unusually good time. At Bennett's in Newport, a few miles below Nanticoke, his congregation

consisted of nine women, one man and some children. On Thursday he exhorted a small company in Plymouth. There he learned that a woman of the community had been turned out of doors by her husband because she had given one of the preachers twenty-five cents! For Friday Colbert made this simple but sinificant entry: "I rode to Brother Owen's." The next day he went to the home of Philip Jackson whose wife continued to be a member "in society," though he had ceased to be. They lived on the grounds where afterward was erected the monument in commemoration of those who lost their lives in the Battle of Wyoming.

Sunday, April 28, Colbert in the morning preached at the home of Mr. Rosencrantz who lived on the bluff<sup>4</sup> near the railway station in what is now Wyoming. In the afternoon he spoke at Captain Parish's, Ross Hill, and in the evening at Captain Ransom's, Plymouth. The texts used, respectively, were Mat. 7:21-23; I Cor. 5:19 and Mark 16:15-16. On this date Colbert wrote: "Mrs. Ransom is a daughter of affliction; she was desirous of having preaching and being baptized with her four children. I thank God I have been enabled to speak with freedom to-day." Monday he went down the river, returning Saturday from activities on the Northumberland circuit.

Sunday, May 5, Colbert discoursed three times: at the courthouse, at Richard Inman's and at Aaron Hunt's, his texts being: Acts 16:30-31; II Cor. 5:17 and Mat. 7:21-23, the last text having been used the week before at Rosencrantz'. Monday was spent in the study of the sacraments of baptism and of the Lord's Supper, feeling that he had been remiss in their administration. He also studied the doctrines of the Calvinists, having become increasingly convinced that they were a hindrance to the true Christian religion. Tuesday he was at Mann's. The next entry in his Journal reads: "Wednesday, May 8. Rode to Lackawanna Forge, and preached at James Sutton's on I Cor. 6:19-20. Here I met with a disputing Calvinist. Sister Sutton and her daughter appear to be very clever women. Our friend Sutton has not joined the society, but appears to be a man of excellent spirit."

The "disputing Calvinist" was without doubt Dr. William Hooker Smith,<sup>5</sup> a man of prominence in this region from some years before the war. He was the son of the Reverend and Mrs. John Smith, Presbyterians, of New York City. Though regarded by some as a skeptic,<sup>6</sup> he was a man of good education, possessed a scientific mind, and rendered invaluable service as physician and surgeon both among the settlers and also among the soldiers of Sullivan's army when he accompanied them on their expedition against the Indians. He was said to be "a man<sup>7</sup> of great sagacity and tact," and was highly regarded by the people. When Dr. Smith came to Wyoming he was accompanied by his daughter Sarah and her husband James Sutton,<sup>8</sup> who settled at, and for some time lived on Mill Creek just above Wilkes-Barre. Sutton was a man of natural ability, and had a saw mill and a grist<sup>9</sup> mill on Sutton's Creek in the town of Exeter, not

far from the river. Later he had a mill at Forty Fort, having changed his location when the Indian troubles assumed more threatening aspects. Both Sutton and Dr. Smith were involved in the Battle of Wyoming, the latter in his professional capacity and the former as a protector of the women and children at the Fort. Although Sutton was a Quaker he did believe in all necessary efforts in self-defense.

After the battle the Suttons, in common with the other settlers, had the problem of migrating from the section. As some members of the family were ill it was out of the question for them to go over the mountain and through the swamp. With the assistance of Dr. Gustin and the use of boards taken from deserted cabins, a boat was completed in nine days. Into this boat were placed the fifteen members of the two families and their belongings. It was an ordeal that incurred many hardships and hazzards as they made their way down the river to Northumberland and then to Middletown. On the way down they thought to stay over night at a certain place but decided not to do so. The next day they learned that the woman of the place and her two sons had been murdered by Indians during the night.

More than two years later the Suttons returned to Wilkes-Barre and erected a house, their property at Forty Fort and at Exeter having been burned down. Subsequently Sutton built a mill on Mill Creek. Still later he was associated with Dr. Smith in erecting at Lackawanna one of the earliest forges of the region. At the time of which Colbert wrote Dr. Smith, whose wife had died a score of years previously, and the Suttons were living near the forge. The daughter whom he mentioned was Deborah Sutton, 10 who was one of four children and was born Feb. 8, 1773, in North Castle, N. Y. As already stated she at the age of fifteen became one of the early members of the Ross Hill class. May 16, 1799, she was united in marriage with James Bedford, Esq., whose death occurred Aug. 23, 1849. She herself attained the advanced age of ninety-six years. When in her eightieth year. Mrs. Bedford furnished most valuable material for Dr. Peck's histories from her personal knowledge and recollections. Her parents meantime had completed long and useful lives, their last years having been spent in their home on Sutton's Creek.

Thursday, May 9, Colbert rode father up the Lackawanna Valley to Capoose, in the Providence section of Scranton, where he exhorted four or five people. On the way he conversed with a Baptist gentleman who surprised him in that he did not hold Calvinist teachings of election and reprobation, but who nevertheless disputed the Methodist belief that one who has been a Christian can so sin as to lose his soul. Friday Colbert was back at Owen's, and on Saturday he fulfilled a previous request of a Mr. Morgan to call on him. This man lived in Wyoming where he kept a drugstore. It was Colbert's regret that a man who was as able a musician as was Mr. Morgan should not use his talent for the

promotion of Christ's kingdom. From Morgan's he went to Abraham Goodwin's. In the morning of Sunday, May 12, Colbert at Rosencrantz' used Mat. 13:3, and in the afternoon at Captain Parish's, Rev. 22:17. The notice not having been circulated at Plymouth, no service was held. After a few days spent on the Northumberland circuit Friday found him at Hunt's. Meantime he gloried in the work no matter how fatiguing it was. On the 19th he discoursed on Job 22:21 in the "meeting house" in Hanover Green. In the afternoon in Wilkes-Barre his text was Heb. 12:14, but he commented, "I fear these are a hardened people." The next two days he was at Mann's, reading and writing. Wednesday at Sutton's he had a few women for a congregation. Thursday after preaching from Mat. 18:3 to a small group at How's in Capoose, he lodged at Joseph Waller's. Friday and Saturday at Abram Goodwin's he read in the Life of Fletcher, finishing it Sunday morning. In the forenoon he discoursed on I John 2:15 at Rosencrantz', in the afternoon on Rev. 3:18 on Ross Hill, and in the evening on II Pet. 1:5-8 at Plymouth. After spending a few days down the Susquehanna, Colbert returned, lodging Friday night at Owen's.

Sunday morning, June 2, he preached in the meeting house from Rev. 22:14. In the afternon he spoke in the courthouse from Luke 14:17, and had a good sized audience in spite of the rain. Monday on the way to Hunt's he called at the home of Ashbel Waller and on Mr. Burnett. The latter was an outspoken Calvinist but his wife was a consistent Methodist. Tuesday was spent in reading. Wednesday he declined to accept a suit which a tailor had made for him because it did not fit. After being held by rain at Mann's on Thursday, the next day he and Owen managed to cross the river, preliminary to a visit to the Northumberland circuit. That evening Owen, who now often filled in as a local preacher, delivered a discourse on II Pet. 3:18 at the home of Captain Ransom, and was followed by Colbert in an exhortation. On Saturday these two men, accompanied by Mr. Harris, resumed their journey to Bloomsburg, where a quarterly meeting was to be held at the home of Joseph Ogden.

The problem of attenpting to reconcile the General Minutes with Peck's Early Methodism and of trying to harmonize either of these with Colbert's Journal has been discussed elsewhere. The problem reappears again and again. Obviously the Journal of William Colbert as well as that of Bishop Asbury, neither of which conflicts with the other, should be taken at face value in every factual statement. The situation is complicated by the fact that the bishop<sup>11</sup> felt no restrictions as to time or place in appointing men to districts or circuits, being governed by the expediency of the hour. Moreover, the preachers themselves exercised great latitude with reference to their assignments. In the light of these statements let it be remembered that Campbell and Colbert had been sent to the Northumberland circuit from the conference held in Baltimore<sup>12</sup> in June, 1792. There is nothing in the Minutes to indicate that Colbert had been appointed to Wyoming and

Tioga from the General Conference that met in the same place in November of the same year. But his Journal makes it clear that he was so appointed. It now develops that after Thomas succeeded him at Tioga in April Colbert had responsibility not only for Wyoming but also in part for Northumberland, where Campbell was still in service. Reference has already been made to visits which he paid to the latter circuit, once at the end of April, once in the middle of May and again at the end of that month, remaining only four or five days at a time. The visitation in June was much longer, lasting for three weeks. Directly after the quarterly meeting in Bloomsburg Colbert made this entry in his Journal: "Monday, 10. I am now no my way around Northumberland circuit." This did not mean that he ceased to have charge of Wvoming, for during the ensuing four months he divided his time between the two circuits. Only the devotion and heroic spirit of a missionary would enable a man to cover so great a field, especially in view of the vast expanse of the Northumberland<sup>13</sup> circuit which at that time extended from Briar Creek, thirty miles below Kingston, far out into the wilds and more than half way across the state, including settlements on the West Branch of the Susquehanna. Whether or not the two circuits were under the same presiding elder does not appear. Very likely they were in the process of becoming associated in the same district as shortly occurred.

# Colbert in Wyoming and Northumberland, Continued. Visited by Bishop Asbury

The next time Colbert speaks of being back in Wyoming it was under most significant circumstances, for it was on the occasion of Bishop Asbury's first visit to this part of his ever increasing territory. The bishop's<sup>14</sup> approach to Wyoming was from Winchester, Va., across Maryland, and by way of Juniata and Mifflintown to Northumberland, traveling in intense heat and over primitive roads, a journey that taxed his frail body to the extreme. That he should deliberately take this trip on his way to a conference in Albany is a testimony to his awareness<sup>15</sup> of the developments on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and of his eagerness to render all assistance possible by his personal presence and inspection.

Both Colbert and Asbury give us some insights into this first episcopal visitation to this field of service. According to the former's account we read:

"Sunday, June 30. I met Bishop Asbury in Northumberland. I found him upstairs at Widdow Taggart's. When I entered the room he spoke to me in a way I was never spoken to before; he was perfectly agreeable. At eleven o'clock he preached in the meeting-house, and in the afternoon at Sunbury. At night Brother Hill preached in Northumberland. I was very much rejoiced to see four preachers (Asbury, Hill, Campbell and Colbert), in this part of the world; but I had my feelings hurt before I went to bed at William Bonham's."

The "Brother Hill" whom Colbert mentions was a young man who by special appointment was detailed to travel with the bishop for this and the following year. He had been received on trial two years before and had served a year each in two North Carolina circuits, returning to that state in 1795.

After a few days of engagements en route Asbury, Hill and Colbert arrived at the home of Captain Parish on Ross Hill late in the evening, July 2nd. Here the bishop preached the next day which was Wednesday. There was no preaching on July 4th, a day marked by a severe thunderstorm. Colbert's notation for the 5th is this:

"Went with the bishop to Captain Satterthwaite's, where I expected he would have preached; but the people would not attend at the captain's house, as there was drinking and revelry there yesterday. The people met at Rosencrantz's, but the captain was so effronted that he would not attend."

Saturday the bishop preached to a small congregation in the courthouse, after which the trio went home with Richard Inman. Colbert informs us that on Sunday,

"at the meeting house (in Hanover), by the request of the bishop, I exhorted, sung, prayed and read the first lesson of the day. Brother Hill sung, prayed and read the second lesson, after which the bishop preached, and after him Brother Owen and Brother Hill exhorted. In the afternoon the bishop and Brother Hill preached in the courthouse at Wilkes-Barre. The people have had four sermons preached to them today in this house,"

a building that was used by different denominations. On Monday the party separated, the bishop, accompanied by Hill, going on his way through New Jersey and then to the Albany conference, and Colbert returning to the Northumberland circuit. By the end of the week the latter was back at Hunt's and spent Saturday in reading Wetherell's "Confutations, Etc."

Bishop Asbury's terse but expressive<sup>17</sup> account of the early days in July, 1793, is in sharp contrast to Colbert's rather colorless report. After touching upon the four or five days spent on the Northumberland circuit the bishop wrote:

"July 2. After preaching on 'the grace of God appearing to all men,' we wrought up the hills and narrows to Wyoming. We stopped at a poor house; nevertheless they were rich enough to sell us half a bushel of oats, and had sense enough to make us pay well for them. We reached Mr. P's (Capt. Parish), about eleven o'clock. I found riding in the night caused a return of my rheumatic complaint through my breast and shoulders. But all is well, the Lord is with us. Thursday, 4. Being the anniversary of the American independence, there was a great noise among the sinners; a few of us went down to Shawnee; called a few people from their work, and found it good for us to be there.

"Sunday, 7. The Lord has spoken in awful peals of thunder. O, what havoc was made here fifteen years ago! (Battle of Wyoming). Most of the inhabitants were either cut off, or driven away. The people might have clothed themselves in sackcloth and ashes the third, if in white and glory the fourth of July. The inhabitants here are very wicked; but I feel as if the Lord would return. I hope Brothers F—, I—, and P—

(Frisby, Inman and Parish), will be owned of the Lord. The man at whose house I was to preach (July 5), made a frolic the day before; it was said he sent a mile across the river for one of his neighbors, taking him from his work, and telling him he was about to bleed to death; this falsity was invented, I suppose, to incline the man to come; the people would not come to his house. I had to walk a mile (Inman's to the courthouse), through the burning heat to preach; I was severely exercised in mind, hardly knowing where to go to get a quiet, clean place to lie down.

"Monday, 8. I took to the wilderness, through the mountains, up Lackawanna, on the Twelve-mile Swamp; this place is famous for dirt and lofty hemlock. We lodged in the middle of the swamp at S—'s, and made out better than we expected. Next morning we set out in the rain, without breakfast; when we came to the ferry, a man took us to his house, and gave us some bread, butter and some buckwheat, and then charged us four shillings and two pence, although we found our own tea and sugar—the place we should have called at was a little further on."

Thus the bishop took his departure from the Wyoming country for the present but was to return more than once afterward in his supervision of the churches in the changing wilderness. In his Journal the bishop merely touched upon the essentials, leaving much room for speculation as to details. His vague description would fit more than one route radiating from the Wyoming Valley. Unquestionably he took the old course by way of Mt. Cobb and the Wallenpaupack to the Delaware and thence eastward. His mention of the Lackawanna gives a clue in confirmation of this statement. The identity of the Mr. S, at whose home the bishop lodged, is left for conjecture. Conceivably it might be James Sutton. More likely the man lived farther along on the route. Hollister suggests the name of Seth Strong, saying that Strong settled near the Little Meadows in 1770. However, he throws doubt upon this conclusion, admitting there is no evidence that this man still lived there when Asbury passed that way. To his other remarks he adds the confusing statement that a man by the name of Stanton resided in this region in 1793.

Sunday, July 14, Colbert preached at Hunt's, and baptized three children. In the afternoon he discoursed on I Cor. 6:19-20. Monday and a part of Tuesday he was at Owen's, where he read Doctor Taylor's "Original Sin," later going to Mann's. Much of Wednesday he was busy reading and writing, after which he went to Waller's, where on Thursday he read in the Bible and in Vol. I of Tillotson's "Works". That evening he attended prayer meeting at Bingham's, in Wilkes-Barre. Friday evening he preached at Inman's from I John 4:18, but without satisfaction to himself. He was disturbed by the fact that one of the Inmans had come home drunk and was likely to make things unpleasant for him because Colbert had been particular to have good care given to his lame horse.

Colbert, having been ordained an elder at the General Conference in 1792, was fully qualified to conduct quarterly meetings. The first such meeting which he personally undertook to conduct was held in Nanticoke on Saturday and

Sunday, July 20 and 21. His assistants on this occasion were James Campbell and Anning Owen, neither of whom had been fully ordained as yet. The meeting began in the home of Aaron Hunt in the afternoon, when the text was II Peter 3:9. Turning to Colbert's Journal we read:

"Brother Campbell preached with great power. Brother Owen and I spoke after him. The Lord was present at night; Brother Owen preached, several of the friends prayed, and the windows of heaven were opened. An old Presbyterian by the name of Moore, who came about thirty miles up the river to this quarterly meeting, was in rapturous joy, seeing so many people engaged with God. Sunday, 21. This was a glorious morning; in the love feast we had a feast of love. Brother J. Campbell preached, Brother Owen exhorted, and I preached after him. For the first time in my life I administered the Lord's Supper. The meeting was held in Widow Bidlack's barn. The Lord confines himself not to the heavens, or to a temple built expressly for the purpose of religious worship, but is found by all his faithful followers in whatever place he is sought with sincerity."

Although this was the first quarterly meeting conducted by Colbert it was by no means the first held in this region, at least two others having already been mentioned. Moreover, it was not at all unusual to hold such services in barns<sup>22</sup> especially on Sundays when the largest number of people would be in attendance. Particularly in the summer time when the barns would be empty they would afford ampler room than any other ordinary buildings and would present no heating problem. The Mrs. Bidlack whose barn was used at this time was the widow of Shubal Bidlack<sup>23</sup> whose death had occurred since Colbert had arrived in Nanticoke the previous December.

Ouarterly meetings had already come to be recognized as great occasions and brought together many ministers and laymen from distant places. Having shared with each other the triumphs of faith, they returned to their homes with increased devotion to and enthusiasm for Christ and his church. The meetings were not only a means of renewal for Christian people but were also especial periods for evangelism in which many conversions occurred. All of this had a definite influence upon the lives of the people and upon the morality of the frontier. What this meant to the contemporary and succeeding generations cannot be measured. How wide an area may have been involved in any quarterly meeting is illustrated by an incident that took place near the close of the particular meeting mentioned in the preceding paragraph. After the Sunday evening services Colbert and Campbell were summoned to the bedside of Elizabeth Ogden, a girl of eighteen years, who, with her parents, lived in Bloomsburg. Elizabeth, on seeing a doctor lance a child's knee, had fainted and fallen out of a door about four feet to the ground. Having landed on her head, she seemed for a long time to hover between life and death, alternating between convulsions and religious exhortations. In harmony with the practices of the times the doctor bled her in both arms but to no avail. Prayers offered in her behalf were

likewise of no permanent effect, although she did ultimately recover. Naturally the experience was disconcerting to all and especially to Colbert, coming as it did at the conclusion of his first quarterly meeting, which otherwise had been a happy event.

The latter part of July and early in August Colbert was occupied on the Northumberland circuit in exchange with Campbell, according to their own arrangement. Friday, Aug. 9, he came north again and preached to a few "careless mortals" at Bennett's, from Heb. 11:6. At Hunt's the next day he spent the time in reading the Bible and "The Life and Death of Thomas Walsh." Here he preached on Sunday morning from Rom. 8:9. In the afternoon he discoursed on Mark 16:15-16 at the courthouse where a collection was taken, amounting to 13s., 5d, according to the monetary computation still surviving from earlier times. Colbert relates that after the services he was invited for lodging to the home of Putnam Catlin,24 who formerly had been hostile to Methodism but who now treated him "kindly". This gentleman came of a long line of Americans and had been a fifer in the Revolutionary army. He was born in Connecticut in 1764, and after the war he entered the legal profession and located in Luzerne. About 1789 he married Polly Sutton, a daughter of and Mrs. James Sutton and sister of Mrs. Deborah Bedford, she being nineteen years of age at the time of their marriage. Subsequently Catlin became a land agent and at various times resided in Brooklyn, Montrose and Great Bend, Pa. In the latter place Catlin again entertained Colbert in 1804. Of the ten children born to the Catlins some became distinguished. This was especially true of George Catlin who gained recognition as an historian, a traveler and an artist whose paintings were held in high esteem. Putnam Catlin became a Methodist, and late in life confided to Mrs. Bedford that his wife's Christian devotion had been a great help to him in maintaining a Christian life.

Continuing his notations for the Sunday on which he was a guest of the Catlins, Colbert introduces us to a novelty. He wrote:

"I received a friendly letter to-day from Miss Christiana Johnson, a young woman, I believe, of good sense, and an excellent spirit. What she has in friendship addressed to me in verse, I shall, for my own satisfaction, here insert verbatim:

"'You, sir, have ventured thus to come A wild and craggy road, Willingly left your former home To visit our abode.

'I hope your labor will not be spent In vain along our shores; Nor you have reason to repent You came within our doors. 'And may your path with flowers be spread
While through the woods you rove;
May you with joy the carpet tread
Throughout the Luzerne grove.

'May Heaven grant you sweet repast— Religion all your theme; Make each day happier than the last Along the winding stream.

'And when these borders you do leave,
And can no longer stay,
May you a laurel crown receive
That never fades away.'"

Miss Johnson was the daughter of the Reverend Jacob Johnson,<sup>25</sup> sometimes called "Old Priest Johnson," the first minister of what was then the Congregational church in Wilkes-Barre. The fact that she became a Methodist and later married a Methodist husband is evidence that though contemporary Methodism was generally frowned upon by the formal Christianity of the time, it did have a penetrating and far-reaching influence in various grades of society. Miss Johnson's verses have little merit as poetry but are illustrative of the effusions of early American life, and were used by her as a vehicle for her sentiments.

In contrast to Miss Johnson as one type of persons who became identified with the Methodist movement, Benjamin Bidlack was at the other extreme, a man whose remarkable conversion took place some months later. Colbert's first reference to him was under the date of August 12, when he wrote: "I visited our brother Benjamin Bidlack in Shawney (Plymouth), who lies very ill." Tuesday, after a day he classed as wasted, he lodged at Abrahm Goodwin's in Kingston. On the three succeeding days he preached at Sutton's, from I Thess. 5:17, at Joseph Waller's, from Mat. 25:30, and at Stephen Baker's from II Cor. 6:2. The latter two places evidently were newly available and were located respectively in Providence and in Kingston. Saturday afternoon at neighbor Goodwin's Colbert met James Thomas, of the Tioga circuit.

On Sunday morning, August 18, Colbert preached at Rosencranz', in the afternoon at Parish's, and in the evening at Coleman's, his texts being II Pet. 1:5-8, Mat. 25:30, and Acts 16:30. On Monday he started out for the Northumberland circuit where on September 10 he met "the long expected Thornton Fleming." In his Journal he recorded that some words he happened to hear at this time greatly disturbed his feelings, which on more than one occasion proved to be very sensitive. Whether the remarks he heard had to do with his person, the type of service he rendered, or his future prospects, do not appear in his notes. Ten days later the two men were at Hunt's where Fleming, though

ill, managed to give a short address to a small group of women. Saturday Colbert visited and gave spiritual advice to the elderly Mrs. Hide. Later he preached from I John 1:6-7, at Inman's, where again he was disturbed by children.

Sunday, September 22, Colbert at Hunt's discoursed on Mal. 3:18, and met the class afterward. Accompanying Fleming to WilkesBarre he heard him preach and exhorted after him. Monday Fleming spoke at the funeral of a child of a Mr. Hudson in Kingston, the text being II Sam. 12:23. After lodging at Goodwin's the two separated, Fleming proceeding to Tioga. Of this parting Colbert wrote: "This morning Brother Fleming took his leave of me. He is gone to explore the dreary regions of Tioga." No one knew how dreary those regions were better than the writer of these words. Probably Peck's interpretation of Colbert's language is too literarl. Surely Fleming's errand was something more than a matter of exploration unless we take it in the sense of making a survey preliminary to his becoming presiding elder of a rapidly growing work that was spreading in Central New York. Very likely he had already been commissioned to do this very thing and was so employed during the ensuing year in spite of the fact that his name does not appear in the record of appointments for 1793-94. One year later his name is given as at the head of a district that included Tioga, Seneca Lake and Nova Scotia.

Thornton Fleming<sup>26</sup> was six months younger than William Colbert, having been born in Williamstown, Va., Oct. 12, 1764. But he preceded Colbert into the ministry by a year or two, and was ordained an elder in 1791, fully a year ahead of his contemporary. His career was unique in many respects. Attaining the advanced age of eighty-two, he was fifty-eight years a minister, forty of which were in effective service, including fifteen years as presiding elder. He never took a location but did pass some eighteen years in the supernumerary or superannuated relation. Twice he was bereaved by the death of a wife. His later life was attended by pitiful pain and distress due to a cancer that consumed one of his eyes. By his devotion and fortitude Thornton Fleming established himself in the affections of his colleagues in Christian service. Aside from the years 1793 and 1794 his ministry was spent mostly in Virginia, Maryland and western Pennsylvania.

Wednesday afternoon, Sept. 24, Colbert delivered a short sermon at Sutton's to a few women and one man, using as his text Mat. 18:20. The next day at Waller's his text was Prov. 1:23-25-26. Friday at Laban Blanchard's, below Plymouth, he spoke from Jer. 2:12-13. Here he had difficulty in preaching because of the crowded condition of the house and the intense heat from the fire. After spending some time at Baker's on Saturday, he was accompanied by Mrs. Baker to Anning Owen's. Without giving details of the discussions that took place at Owen's, Colbert in his Journal expressed the hope that the con-

versations would not cause a disturbance in the society. On Sunday he conducted service in the Rosencranz home in the morning, basing his message on II Cor. 5:20, and received three into membership. In the afternoon at Parish's his text was Mat. 10:32-33, and in the evening at Coleman's, Mat. 22:1. After this last service he had a long and controversial discussion with a Calvinistic woman who never before had heard a Methodist preacher. On Monday after having had breakfast with Mr. and Mrs. "Presson" (Preston?), in Plymouth he set off again for Northumberland. This was the last phase of his work in the Wyoming, Tioga and Northumberland circuits for the year 1792-93. Only by the aid of Colbert's Journal are we able to understand how greatly his actual itineraries varied from information given in the General Minutes which show that he and Campbell were appointed to Northumberland from the conference that convened in June, 1792. At the conference<sup>27</sup> that convened sixteen months later, namely in October, 1793, Colbert and Anthony Turck were duly appointed to the Wyoming circuit, a fact in which Colbert's Journal and the General Minutes concur. At the end of the prolonged year the membership record stood: Wyoming, 100, a decrease of 6; Tioga, 70, a decrease of 1; and Northumberland, 171, an increase of 79.

### COLBERT, TURCK AND BIDLACK

The conference that convened in Baltimore Oct. 20, 1793, was momentous in many respects. First of all it provided a new arrangement of the district that involved Northeastern Pennsylvania by the elimination of the circuits of Newburgh, Flanders, Elizabethtown and Staten Island, by the retention of Wyoming and Tioga, and the addition of Northumberland and Seneca Lake. For the second consecutive year Campbell was placed at Northumberland, his associate being James Paynter. Colbert was named for Wyoming, his associate being Anthony Turck. James Thomas was appointed to Tioga and James Smith to Seneca Lake. Special mention should be made of the fact that Valentine Cook was placed in charge of the new district. All of these assignments resulted from the timely visit made by Bishop Asbury less than three months earlier.

Under date of Saturday, Oct. 26, Colbert mentions his first meeting with his new colleague who was this year received on trial in the conference. He noted that at a quarterly meeting Turck "preached a long but entertaining metaphorical sermon," using Is. 21:5 as his text, and that afterward he himself and Paynter exhorted. Continuing, the Journal states: "Sunday, 27. This morning held a love feast; preached at 'Squire Myers'. Brother Paynter preached on Matthew 10:32-33. After him I preached from Luke 22:19 and administered the Lord's Supper; Brother Owen assisted. Brothers Paynter and Turck exhorted powerfully." "Squire" Myers<sup>28</sup> lived near the site of the First Methodist

church in Kingston. He and his brother Philip, who lived near Forty Fort, had fought in the Revolution. July 15, 1787, Philip married Martha Bennett, a daughter of Thomas Bennett. Her father and her brother Solomon have previously been mentioned in connection with the Indian troubles. Reference to the Bennett family will be made later. On June 10, 1819, Mary, a daughter of Philip and Martha Myers, married Dr. George Peck,<sup>29</sup> who as a preacher had come the year before to Wyoming, and who later became a distinguished editor and the author of valuable histories involving this region.

Referring to a new venture northward, Colbert wrote: "Tuesday, 29. I took my leave of Brother Turck, and set out on my journey for the dreary and ice-glazed mountains of Tioga; came as far as Abram Goodwin's." Wednesday he was at Massey's on the Tunkhannock. Mrs. Massey was a Calvinistic Baptist who held that no one could be lost who had been converted. In his Journal Colbert recorded his fear that this belief would lead to the ruin of many souls. Thursday he was heartily received and lodged in Wyalusing. Next day he was equally welcomed at Mayhue's on Shoefeldt's Flats.

Saturday a quarterly meeting was begun at Green's in Sheshequin. It was late in the evening when Colbert reached the place. Nevertheless he yielded to an urgent request that he preach and delivered what he considered an effective sermon from the text, Acts 16:28. The one who exhorted after him was James Smith, "a young Irishman," as Colbert described him, who was this year received on trial, and who was about to assume his duties as the first duly appointed preacher of the newly constituted Seneca Lake circuit, part of which had been on the Tioga circuit. On Sunday, Nov. 3, Colbert conducted the love feast in the Green home. The more public service was held in the schoolhouse where Thornton Fleming preached, after which both Smith and Colbert exhorted. The Holy Communion followed. On Monday the three dropped down the river to Samuel Cole's, calling on the way on the Newell family. Colbert had known Mrs. Newell as Miss Lydia Ogden when she had lived with her parents in Bloomsburg.

The three ministers stayed a couple of days with the Coles, part of the time engaged in reading in Carver's "Travels among the Indians of the Northwest." A few days also were passed at Parshall's, probably on the east side of the river. For the week-end they were in Wyalusing, attending another quarterly meeting. On Saturday Colbert preached from Acts 16:30. Smith's text in the evening was Jer. 18:11. The Journal notes that Fleming "lectured" on I John, chapter 3. Sunday morning Fleming conducted the love feast and administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The effectiveness of the service was impaired by the presence of some who deterred others from the free expression of their religious experiences. However, Colbert felt that he was able to preach with liberty from Mark 6:15-16. Smith concluded the service with prayer and sing-

ing, after a sermon by Fleming, based on Hos. 14:1-3. From all of these referces to Fleming and the part he took in the various services it is sufficiently clear that he was in fact performing the functions of a presiding elder, in spite of the absence of his name from the list of appointments for this year. What his charges were is not disclosed but may be inferred from the fact that for the year 1794-95 he was shown to be the elder over Tioga, Seneca Lake and Nova Scotia.

Again setting his course northward, Colbert, accompanied by Smith, drove to Sheshequin on Monday, Nov. 11, and preached at Green's from the text, Job 21:15. But he felt that the people were better pleased with Smith's exhortation than with his sermon. The next day the two ministers left together and penetrated the new developments in the vicinity of Cayuga and Seneca lakes. This is the last knowledge we have of James Smith<sup>30</sup> in his relation to Northeastern Pennsylvania. His subsequent career as indicated in the Minutes is one of long and distinguished usefulness until terminated under regrettable conditions. He was in the effective ranks for forty years, including eleven years as presiding elder of various districts, and held some of the leading pastorates in the Baltimore and Philadelphia conferences. After seventeen years as a supernumerary he was expelled from the ministry for reasons not given in the records.

Monday the 25th Colbert was back at Nathan Brown's and a day later at Baldwin's. He reveals that on Wednesday Fleming preached from Rom. 5:1-5, and that in the evening he himself met with the class and preached from the 18th verse of the same chapter. The next day he went down the river and lodged at Mason Alden's in Meshoppen.

Continuing, the Journal reads:

"Friday, 29. Rode from Meshoppen to Tunkhannock, where I met with Sister Sutton, who lives in Lackawanna, and a Mrs. Benedict, a Baptist sister. As we were in a wilderness we had victuals with us, and with a deal of satisfaction we all three sat down upon a rock in the woods and ate our dinner. We then crossed a mountain over to the Lackawanna. The timbers on the top of this mountain were bent over the road with ice, but on the side of the mountain we saw no ice. We traveled until night came on, and very dark it was. I was under fearful apprehensions of having to lodge in the woods, but fortunately we got to Dr. Smith's, Sister Sutton's father."

A detail of that night's experience, omitted by Colbert, is supplied by Mrs. Bedford, Mrs. Sutton's daughter, who states:

"When it became so dark that they were obliged to trust entirely to their horses, Mr. Colbert being in advance, his horse refused to go on. He spurred the animal, but he would not advance another step. Whereupon he dismounted, and laying hold of a shrub, he reached forward his feet until he found he was upon the verge of a precipice. They changed their course and escaped being dashed to pieces. They were on the brink of a perpendicular ledge of several hundred feet in height."

Colbert's notation for the next day was: "This morning I felt no freedom to call the family together for prayers, and came away without saying anything about it to them. I rode to Brother Waller's (not Watter's as in Peck<sup>32</sup>), where I met with Brother Turck." His hesitancy about proposing prayers on this occasion is explainable. His host, Dr. W. H. Smith, though the son of a Presbyterian minister, had the reputation of being a skeptic. Rather naturally the doctor's attitude would not be encouraging to "prayers", but rather the reverse.

Sunday, Dec. 1, Colbert preached in Wilkes-Barre from Mat. 7:21-23, his colleague having charge of the class. In the afternoon Turck preached in the home of Capt. Parish. Monday the two men were in the home of Stephen Baker, where he preached and "Brother Turck formed four bands." Wednesday Colbert exhorted a few people at Inman's and had charge of the class. These people he described as "refractory". His Journal for the two following days is especially significant in that it marks the termination of his memorable service in Northeastern Pennsylvania for the present, and also tells of the coming into that region of one of the most dynamic personages of the period, Valentine Cook. His record states:

"Thursday, 5. I met with Brother Cook at Anning Owen's. He informed me that I was appointed to Montgomery circuit, on the western shore of Maryland, the place of my nativity. After my rough tour of the lake country I felt very willing to spend the winter in Wyoming; but a journey of more than one hundred miles to the southward lies before me."

That evening he went to the Rosencranz home with the hope of reconciling contending parties. As none came he prayed with the family and then went to lodge at Captain Parish's. Continuing, we read: "Friday, 5. I heard Brother Cook preach at Shawney. He is an excellent preacher and an excellent man. I parted with him and went on with Brother Turck to Andrew Blanchar's (Blanchard's)," which was below Plymouth.

Saturday, Dec. 7, 1793, after almost exactly one year of pioneer preaching along the North Branch of the Susquehanna Colbert began his journey toward his native state whence he did not return for more than three years. He seems to have had a nostalgic feeling for Wyoming as is shown by his entry for Dec. 26 to the effect that he would rather be among the mountains of Pennsylvania than where he was. Convinced that he would not be able to render the best service in the vicinity of his old home, he was on Jan. 19, 1794, transferred at his own request from the Montgomery to the Prince George's circuit. The changing of his fields of labor between the sessions of the conference is another illustration of the inability of the General Minutes to keep abreast with fluctuating appointments. The mobility of Methodism as well as the inefficiency of communications in the early days made it impossible to do more than to approximate accuracy. The conventional procedure would have been for Colbert to

remain at Northumberland from June, 1792 to October, 1793, and at Wyoming from October, 1793 to October, 1794, which he did not in either case. It is only by the aid of his Journal that we are able to trace his movements for those years as well as in the following year in which he is omitted from the list of appointments in the General Minutes.

Anthony Turck,<sup>33</sup> who with Colbert was appointed to Wyoming for the year 1793-94, was of low Dutch descent and was a native of New York State. Having been received on trial at the time of his appointment, this was his first venture in the itinerancy. He is described as "a plain, rough man," and was affectionately called "Daddy Turck," or "Father Turck." His memoirs speak of him as "a holy, devout man, indefatigable and successful in his labors." That he was well adapted to the work on the frontier is indicated by the methods he pursued in the pulpit as related by one who was converted under his ministry. Speaking of Turck he said, "O, he would clap his hands, and lift up his chair and dash it down on the floor, and call for the power until he made everything move." During Turck's year at Wyoming occurred the transformation of one of the most picturesque characters of the times. Indeed the nature of the times and of the principal persons involved inevitably made the event dramatic. The drastic methods of a preacher and the reactions of a truculent frontiersman to those methods are representative of many experiences of the early period.

The person in question was Captain Benjamin Bidlack,<sup>34</sup> sometimes called "Badlock". Born in New England about 1759, he came with his parents to Wyoming when he was eighteen years of age. His father joined with other elderly men in the defense of their homes while the younger men were actively engaged in waging the war of the Revolution. Having been captured by the Indians, the elder Bidlack suffered at their hands until released at the close of hostilities. Of Benjamin's brothers, Shubal has already been mentioned. Another brother, James, was killed in the "Indian Battle," while as captain he was leading his company, only eight of whom survived. A third brother became a prisoner of war on Long Island where he "was starved to death by the British." Benjamin himself served seven years under Washington, being present when the general assembled his forces at Boston, when he surprised the Hessians at Trenton, when he mastered Cornwallis at Yorktown, and when he disbanded his army at Newburgh.

An insight into what type of person this man was is afforded by an incident that occurred after he had returned to beautiful Wyoming and to what he had hoped would be the ways of peace. Contrary to his hopes the Yankee-Pennamite war, which had been quiescent during the Revolution, broke out again with renewed fury. Although young Bidlack did not engage in this unnatural conflict he unwittingly became the victim of it. Having need to go to Sunbury on business, he was seized by the partisans of the Proprietaries, who considered

him a "wild Yankee," and was thrust into jail. Being a jovial fellow and a good entertainer, especially when under the influence of liquor, which was not rare, his captors on several occasions supplied him with drink and then asked him to tell stories or sing for the pleasure of the convivial crowd. That he might the better be seen he would be released temporarily from his cell. One day he announced that he had composed a new song hit which he called "The Old Swaggering Man." In order to render it properly he required a cane as well as ample room for dramatic effect. Having been granted the entire porch of the jail, he cavorted about while he sang a stanza or two, to the great delight of his audience. Then taking another drink and drawing a deep breath he sang another stanza. When he came to the chorus, "Here comes the old swaggering man," he suited action to the words, and, before the company realized the purpose of his strategy, Bidlack ran from them, scaled the six-foot wall and was on his way up-country. Being a tall man and of splendid physique, he outran his pursuers and next day arrived at his destination fifty miles away. He and his wife, who was a descendant of John Alden of Mayflower fame, lived in a little log cabin in Newport.

In spite of his drinking habits, which he acquired while he was in the army, Bidlack had many excellent qualities and was most companionable, being full of fun and jollity. Perhaps the qualities contributed to his undoing. Whatever his derelictions may have been, he always had a reverence for religion and a respect for the place of public worship, even when he was under the influence of drink. His ability as a singer was recognized before and after the change took place in his life. Though he might be so intoxicated as scarcely to be able to stand on his feet, he was known to take a leading part in the singing of hymns.

The turning point in the life of "Ben" Bidlack took place at a meeting conducted by Anthony Turck. On this occasion he was not intoxicated though the neck of a whiskey bottle protruded from his pocket. Arriving after the service had begun and unable to find a seat, he stood by the door with arms folded, and listened attentively. Presently the preacher turned upon him and gave him a most scathing, personal attack. He painted him as foolish and so depraved as to stoop to things beneath the dignity of animals, such as wallowing in the mire like a hog. He charged him with profanity and with blaspheming the name of his Maker. He also upbraided him for the affrontery of bringing to the house of God the hell-fire that made him what he was, a devil incarnate!

Naturally this severe personal onslaught caused consternation in the congregation. Some feared that physical violence would result and that this soldier who was now in the prime of life would retaliate upon the impolitic preacher. In such a case there was little question but that the preacher would be worsted in the battle, albeit he was recognized as being a man of courage. To the amazement of all Bidlack perceived that he had met his match and that the

description given of him was all true. Stung with remorse, he slunk away like a whipped dog. Seeing himself as he really was, the prodigal became truly pentinent for his past dissolute ways, and with soldierly courage in due time he made public acknowledgment of his faults. After weeks of spiritual struggle he confessed Jesus Christ as his Savior and entered into the peace of God. Quickly it was noised abroad that Ben Bidlack had become a Methodist! Indeed, he became a most active layman and went up and down the Valley with all heartiness of purpose, using his wonderful voice in prayer, exhortation and song. With unabated ardor he continued his work of personal evangelism and six years later, in 1799, he was admitted into the annual conference on trial, and together with James Moore and David Stevens he was appointed to the Wyoming-Northumberland circuit. This valiant man gave a total of sixteen years of consecrated service to the church, in which his piety was as distinguished as had been his patriotism in the service of his country. After twenty-six other years as a superannuate this soldier-preacher closed his life on Nov. 27, 1845, at the ripe age of eighty-five.

### VALENTINE COOK ON THE DISTRICT

A vital element of Bishop Asbury's strategy for Northeastern Pennsylvania at this time was the selection and appointment of Valentine Cook as the elder over the district that stretched from Northumberland in Pennsylvania to the lake region in New York. This selection was one of the immediate results of his visit to this section in the summer of 1793. Indeed it was while he was in Wyoming that he took the first steps leading to the appointment of Cook more than three months in advance of the next session of the conference in Baltimore. The primitive methods of communication were such in that period that the intervening time was none too long to effect the plan he then devised. It required three intermediaries for Asbury's summons to reach Cook who was then stationed in Clarksburg, W. Va. Under the date, "Wyoming, July 3," the bishop addressed the following letter<sup>35</sup> to the Reverend Thomas Morrell, then serving in New York:

"My Very Dear Brother:—Every occurrence gives an opportunity of information. These frontier circuits here suffer the want of my presence to see the state of matters.... Will you, the next letter you have an occasion to write to John Dickens, direct said Dickens to desire Daniel Hitt, on the Pittsburgh circuit, to take the earliest opportunity to let Valentine Cook, upon the Clarksburg circuit, know to come and meet me at the Baltimore conference, Oct. 20, 1793. I have found a vast body of Dutch on the Northumberland circuit, and the said Cook can preach in Dutch. Had I known it at conference I would have stationed him there. I believe there are several young men who will do as well on Clarksburg as he. I am convinced I ought to station preachers all the year; and it appears not right to take all the preachers away. There are such disorders it gives a great opening to men, devils and sin. Our poor preachers keep

Lent a great part of the year here. Our towns and cities, at least our conferences, ought not to let them starve for clothing. I have had a pretty long campaign in the backwoods ever since March. I judge it will be best for half the preachers from Albany, Massachusetts and (New) Jersey to attend at (New) York conference, that we may keep the work going on. I think we must absolutely never let the preachers wholly leave their circuits; this is what was never suffered in England for fear of havoc. It is pressing times in America.

"Thine as ever,

F. Asbury."

Aside from its reference to Cook this letter brings out several significant points as to Asbury's policies and leadership. He was not a swivel-chair administrator but gave personal inspection to the fields so that he might know at first hand how best to deploy a militant ministry. He was a good judge of character and personally selected the men for the particular places to which they were sent. His extensive travel enabled him to know what men were available and what ones were best suited for particular tasks. He was unconventional in fixing the appointments,<sup>36</sup> not waiting for a certain time or place to make the assignments. He did not hesitate to change men from one circuit to another between the sessions of the conference, even though the changes involved great distances. This was facilitated by the fact that most of the preachers were young and unmarried. Asbury did not consider that the conference session was some sort of a town-meeting designed for the purpose of consulting with preachers about the circuits to be served. Although men occasionally did not go to the places for which they were designated, they definitely were appointed by the bishop according to his own personal judgment. He did not require or even desire total attendance at conference on the part of the preachers for he realized that the days spent at conference, and especially the days spent in travel to and from conference took so large a part of their time that it militated against effective service. There would be "fear of havoc" in the prolonged absence of the preachers from their charges. The reference to the conference in New York, mentioned in Asbury's letter to Thomas Morrell, shows that conferences as yet had no fixed boundaries or personnel. It may also imply that, inasmuch as he was now on his way<sup>32</sup> to a conference in Albany to be followed by two others to be held in New England, it was his desire to have half of the preachers go to New York, leaving one group to remain on the charges while the other was away at conference.

Just as it is difficult today for us to understand why Asbury should take the roundabout way of reaching Cook, so it is difficult to understand why it should be necessary for five months to elapse between the dating of the letter and the arrival of the new elder. The bishop had asked Cook to meet him in Baltimore on Oct. 20. Yet the latter did not appear in Wyoming until early December when Colbert speaks of meeting him and of learning from him that Colbert was to go to Montgomery circuit in Maryland. Soon after the one arrived the other departed.

The man whom Asbury selected to administer the work along the Susquehanna was a near contemporary of Daniel Boone. 38 Each of these noted frontiersmen was born in Pennsylvania but later in life resided in Kentucky. Each was a distinguished marksman and hunter, and each had similar personal characteristics. Valentine Cook, 39 of whose early life little is known, was the fifth son of a man of the same name. Boehm describes him as being a man more than six feet "high", having dark complexion, long arms, dark, piercing eyes, and of very black hair that was coarse and bushy. Once he was captured by Indians but was soon released, evidently because his appearance suggested that he was of Indian blood. At an early age he became familiar with the Bible and was converted as the result of the visit of a roving Methodist preacher who penetrated the section of the country where his people lived. At first his father opposed his consorting with the Methodists but later yielded to his persuasion, consented to his proposal to have family prayers, and finally accepted his Christ. Though he was denied early opportunities for schooling, he had a keen intellect and acquired valuable knowledge. For a time he attended Cokesbury College, which had recently been established by Bishops Coke and Asbury in Maryland. His studious habits gained for him the reputation of being the best educated preacher of his time. Returning from college in 1787, the following year he entered the ranks of the itinerants.

Cook had a voice of remarkable range and volume and easily was one of the ablest preachers of that generation. Among the elements of his great power were simplicity, prayer and a knowledge of the Scriptures. He spoke with prophetic utterance, and gained a fame that spread far and wide. The effect of Cook's preaching was described by one auditor who declared that he could listen to a certain preacher and sleep soundly the following night, but added, "I never get a comfortable night's rest for at least a month after hearing Father Cook preach one sermon. He always says something I can't forget." Some went as far as to say "he was the greatest preacher that ever was, a very learned man."40 The power of Cook's preaching over individuals is revealed in the case of a man who came to camp meeting while Cook was delivering a sermon. During the discourse the man arose and exclaimed under great excitement, "Stop! Stop till I can get out of this place." The preacher paused and said, "Let us pray for that man." The man attempted to leave the place, but, as he reached the outer edge of the assembly, he fell to the ground and began to plead with God for mercy.

There can be no question but that Cook was a man of unusual spiritual gifts, whose obsession was the preaching of the Gospel. In the ministry he was nothing less than a genius. But like many another genius he had certain eccentricities. One of these was absent-mindedness. So absorbed was he in his vocation that he would often forget or overlook the commonest matters. Going apart for

prayer in the woods, as he often did before preaching, his friends had to be on the lookout lest he continue far beyond the time set for the sermon. He was known to walk several miles to his home, oblivious of having left his horse tied near where he had been preaching. Once, soon after his marriage, he mounted his horse after a service and drove all the way to the home of his wife's parents, only to be humiliated by their inquiry as to the whereabouts of their daughter! But such eccentricities were not those of an irrational mind but of a man whose being was so sublimated that the contemporary scene became obscure.

By the due process of promotion Cook had become an elder at the time he was designated for the district. Presumably he was only about thirty years of age when these responsibilities came upon him. But this was not abnormal for the times as a majority of the preachers were young men. By modern standards they were but young men when they ceased to itinerate. Cook himself, who was now near the zenith of his power, after preaching only five years was midway in his career as a circuit rider. His three years on the district that included Wyoming were followed by two on the Pittsburgh district and one in Kentucky. His name does not appear among the appointments in 1799 but is included the following year among those "who are under a location." Ill health is given as the reason for his discontinuance. There is no need to question his motives for taking a location, for only the hardiest young men could sustain the rigors of the climate, the poor fare and the bad sleeping conditions to which circuit riders were subjected. Cook's intense nature and unreserved devotion exacted a heavy toll upon his constitution. However, the fact that in 1798 Cook was united in marriage with Tabitha Slaughter, daughter of a former governor of Kentucky, may have been a determining factor in his decision to step aside from the traveling ministry. His marriage, however, did not prevent him from continuing his deep interest in worthwhile pursuits. After functioning as an educator, a farmer and as an occasional preacher, his death occurred when he was about three score years of age.

Cook's second year on the district had a new arrangement of circuits and included: Bristol, Chester, Philadelphia, Lancaster, Northumberland and Wyoming. The district to the north was under Thornton Fleming and included: Tioga, Seneca Lake and Nova Scotia. James Paynter was appointed to Wyoming where the membership was 183. James Moore was named for Tioga, which had a membership of 113. For Cook's third year, 1795-96, by another change in the make-up of the district he had supervision over Northumberland, Wyoming and Tioga-Seneca. Alward White was the preacher in charge of Wyoming, with a membership of 174. Joseph Whitby and John Lackey were sent to Tioga-Seneca, Tioga having a membership of 137, and Seneca, 133.

At quarterly meetings Valentine Cook functioned pre-eminently both as a

master of ceremonies and as a persuasive preacher. The influence and memories of these occasions in which he participated lingered in the Wyoming country long years after he had gone elsewhere. One of these events was vividly described to Dr. Peck<sup>41</sup> by Mrs. Bedford more than half a century after it occurred. It took place in Cook's third year on the district and was held in the home of Philip Jackson who lived not far from the Wyoming monument in the present borough of Wyoming. In the words of Mrs. Bedford:

"The quarterly conference was held up stairs. We heard them shouting and praising the Lord. My mother (Mrs. Sutton), Betsy Dennison, Polly Dennison, Clara Pierce, Polly Pierce and myself went into an adjoining room and looked in, when we saw them all lying on the floor. The one near the door said, 'Sisters, come in, come in.' We went into the room, and as soon as we entered the place we all fell, so wonderful was the power of God manifested on that occasion. James Carpenter, who was not then a professor of religion, came into the first room, and we asked him to come in, but he would not. He told us afterward that he did not dare to come into the room, for he knew that if he stepped over the threshold of the door he would have fallen.

"The next morning in the love feast it seemed as if all the members, both preachers and people, were filled with the love and power of God. After love feast Elder Cook preached a most powerful sermon, and Brother White gave out an earnest and moving exhortation. The work now went on rapidly and spread far and wide."

Cook's power over crowds was not greater than over individuals. Whatever may be the true explanation, many who opposed his message feared him as one possessed of the power of magic. One Charles Harris is an illustration of this fear. In spite of his misgivings he resolved to go and ascertain for himself whatever might be the wizardry of the great preacher. Accordingly he attended a meeting held in the home of Col. Dennison in Wyoming. As he entered the house Mr. Cook and Mr. White were singing. The singing of hymns was one of Cook's enjoyments as well as sources of power. Harris at once began to feel a strange experience possessing him, and said to himself, "There, the witchery is coming." Too brave to run away, he held his emotions as best he could, but at last yielded himself and became a Christian.

The enthusiastic acclaim in behalf of Valentine Cook was countered by an opposition that found many avenues for expression. In the same year as that of the memorable quarterly meeting described by Mrs. Bedford there was a great revival in Wilkes-Barre, in which many were converted. The conversions included people of various walks in life as well as of contrasting moral standards. Among them were three women of social position, whose husbands strongly opposed their identifying themselves with the Methodists whom they despised. One of these men was a Mr. Duane, whose wife could not be dissuaded from becoming a Methodist, and who himself later in life came into the church. At the time of the revival he is reputed to have been a ringleader in a crude effort to break up the meeting which was being held in the society's

humble church. Several persons entered into the plot which was to smoke out the congregation by the fumes of brimstone. Pieces of cloth or paper were wrapped around sticks and the whole saturated with melted sulphur. On a night when Mr. Cook was to preach these strange matches were to be ignited and dropped down the chimney. The person who was to accomplish the fumigation went upon the roof and lighted his matches, but by some misadventure lost his hold, slipped and went tumbling to the ground. The would-be perpetrators of the plot became the victims of their own designs and, stifled and confused, ran away. If it was intended as a joke, the participants became the laughing-stock of the town. As for the minister and the congregation, they were oblivious of what was going on until some time afterward.

In every respect Valentine Cook was constituted on a large mold. His stature and personal appearance attracted attention wherever he went. His strength of mind, his moral sense, and his power of physical endurance are indirectly attested by a letter<sup>42</sup> he addressed under date of May 24, 1794, "To James Smith, Preacher in the Lake Circuit," in which he wrote as follows:

"Very Dear Brother—These hints may enable you to form some idea of my circumstances. I have now walked near sixty or seventy miles, and am within ten miles of the head of the lakes, at Weiburn's, who I somewhat expect will lend me a beast, as I am obliged to leave my horse with but small hopes of his recovery. Yesterday I walked upward of thirty miles in mud and water, being wet all day without; yet heaven within. Glory to God! I had three tempters to encounter: the devil, mosquitoes, and my horse; and the rain and my wet clothes were my element, and God my comforter, and victory my white horse. Hitherto, O Lord, hast thou been my helper, and I trust thou wilt save to the end.

"Brother Fleming is to take my appointments through Tioga. I mean to overtake him if possible, and get him to attend the quarterly meetings downward in my stead, and so return to the Lakes circuit in a few weeks, all which I shall have to do afoot, if I don't get a horse. You can fix your circuit as you think best, but only appoint for yourself till I come, or send one. If Brother Fleming's horse should not be recovered, I shall have to go on. My trials are furious, but I am not discourged. I hope you will pray for me. It would be necessary when you meet the classes to examine closely and urge union, and give a close exhortation at the end of the meeting, enforcing and pressing the several duties of the members. That class-leader at Appleton has been intoxicated. I would not admit him, even on trial, without verbal obligations that he will not drink another drop, excepting in cases of medicine, and that himself shall not be physician in the case. If you can get a class, it would be well to make Brother Bailey leader. I thought the Discipline would stir them. Satan is not willing they should be Methodists, for he knows their sins will get no rest among us.

"I am, as ever, sincerely and affectionately in Christ,

Valentine Cook."

Shortly before Valentine Cook left the district in 1796 Mr. and Mrs. Comfort Carey, of Hanover, but formerly of Careytown in southern Wilkes-Barre, were converted. Mrs. (Huldah) Carey gives a graphic description of a quarterly

meeting conducted by Mr. Cook in March, held in the home of Aaron Dean on Ross Hill. She reports:

"We came to the river at Wilkes-Barre, and the ice ran so thick that the ferryman refused to ferry us over, but he told us we might have the boat, if we would risk the undertaking. There were fifteen of us and we pushed out; we were driven down far below the landing place, but we finally reached the shore in safety. We had a glorious meeting."

Mr. Cook's last sermon in the Wyoming Valley was also on Ross Hill, and was from Acts 20:17-38, which tells about Paul's farewell address at Miletus to the Christians who had come from Ephesus to see him. Each occasion was one of great emotional expression. Mr. Carey who was present told his wife that the sermon was the most wonderful he ever heard. All were in tears, both minister and people. As the latter squeezed the preacher's hand convulsively and said, "Farewell," he responded with dignity, "Farewell, brother; farewell, sister. God bless you; be faithful; we shall meet in heaven." This was a characteristic conclusion of the work of a man who left a lasting impression upon Northeastern Pennsylvania and who was not again to be seen in these parts. Of the permanence of Cook's evangelism Dr. Peck<sup>44</sup> late in life bore sincere testimony. Thus he wrote:

"When the writer of these pages first came to Wyoming, in 1818, there were many people scattered through the circuit who were converted by his instrumentality, and who regarded him as almost an angel. There are still lingering (1860), upon the shore a number who remember him well, although most of them were mere children when his powerful voice echoed among the valleys and mountains of Northern Pennsylvania and Southern New York."

One of the men who served under Cook in the Wyoming country was James Paynter<sup>45</sup> who was born in Sussex county, Del., Sept. 1, 1764, and died in Montgomery county, Md., March 2, 1840. Having served as a supply for one year, he was received on trial in 1792, and continued his ministry in the Baltimore conference till his retirement in 1830. He came to the Northumberland circuit as the junior preacher in 1793, his colleague being James Campbell. The following year his name appears as that of the sole appointee for Wyoming. Two incidents that took place while traveling between Northumberland and Wyoming give insights into Paynter's character. Once, having been invited by those outstanding laymen, Christian and Thomas Bowman, to preach at Briar Creek, he was trying to make his way through the woods in the darkness of night to his appointment. Suddenly realizing that he had lost his way, he lifted his voice and made the forest ring with his cry for help. Soon he saw lights approaching, which proved to be flames from pine splinters in the hands of Thomas Bowman. The experience itself as well as the happy ending served Paynter as a moral for many a sermon in after years. At another time a horse

trader in Berwick imposed upon the preacher in an exchange of horses and delivered to him an animal that proved to be unmanageable. Paynter was thrown from his mount and badly brusied. Subsequently a valuable horse belonging to the trader was so badly injured when it fell upon a harrow that it had to be killed. In the minds of many this was considered a just retribution for his chicanery. After settling in Maryland Paynter interested himself in the Goshen "meeting house," an old edifice then fallen into decay. With the cooperation of others he secured subscriptions for a new brick building and supervised its erection. After his death his body was interred back of the pulpit of the church which became his visible monument. He was a grave sort of man but was considered a good preacher. "As a man he was affable and kind, modest and unobtrusive, steadfast in his friendships, and highly amiable in his social intercourse." Paynter served Wyoming a second time in 1805-06.

Although Paynter is given in the Minutes as the only appointee at Wyoming in 1794 it is presumable that he had a junior preacher in the person of Joseph Jewell<sup>46</sup> who very likely was as yet only a local preacher. Jewell was received into conference on trial the following year and is credited with fourteen years of service, including eight as a presiding elder. In 1810 he took a location. Dr. Peck quotes Mrs. Bedford in an account she gave of a quarterly meeting she attended at the home of Amos Parks at Salem in the southern part of the circuit. In spite of the fact that the Minutes do not show Jewell was ever appointed to Wyoming Mrs. Bedford definitely stated that Jewell was "on the circuit at the time" of the meeting. Oddly enough she did not recall who was the presiding elder. Without doubt this was one of Valentine Cook's famous quarterly meetings. Another testimony comes from Mrs. Anna Briggs who declared that she was converted under Jewell's ministry "at a quarterly meeting in the meetinghouse below Buttonwood," and added the information that he preceded White, the appointee of 1795. At most this might mean that Paynter did not remain for a full year and that Jewell substituted for him at some time in his term.

Mrs. Bedford had ample reasons for remembering certain details about the meeting at Amos Parks', of which she gave the following report.

"Mr. and Mrs. Parks and their daughter Nancy were members. We had a truly interesting season, and we were subsequently informed that many were added to the church as the fruit of the meeting. The next day we returned home, and Ashbel Waller accompanied us. Snow and rain were falling, just enough to make it uncomfortable; but we enjoyed so much of the presence of God that we considered this but a small matter. The Lord was truly with us. When we came to the creek it was so swollen that it seemed impassable. We all sat for a moment upon our horses, crying to God for help. At length Darius Williams threw up his arms toward heaven, and cried, 'The Lord will carry us through.' The men then rode through and we followed them. We crossed the angry stream without harm. That night we all stayed at Darius Williams' and had a prayer meeting. Sister Waller had been under doubts and fears, but that night they

were all removed, and she shouted, 'Glory to God!' Her husband fell upon the floor, crying, 'Glory! Glory to God!' and praised the Lord with all his might for what he had done for his wife, and for the manifestation of his power among us, for it was truly great."

Alward White<sup>47</sup> was oppointed to Wyoming in 1795 at the opening of Cook's third year on the district, and was at the same time received into full membership in the conference. Contrary to the practices of the times he was reappointed to the charge for a second year during which he was united in marriage with Miss Clara Pierce, a local young woman whose father had been killed in the Indian Battle, and whose mother had subsequently married Mr. Duane. After two years at Wyoming he was for eight years placed among those "who are under a location through weakness of the body or family concerns." Being readmitted in 1805, he served one year at the end of which he received a belated ordination as an elder and immediately located, this time for twelve years. Again becoming effective he served a dozen years, and then was made a supernumerary in 1830. Two years later he was superannuated but died before the year was out, on Nov. 23, 1832. White ranked well as a preacher, was a man of excellent spirit and rendered valuable service under Valentine Cook as well as afterward.

To complete the record of those who served under the direction of Cook there must be included the names of John Lackey and Joseph Whitby who were on the Tioga and Seneca circuit during his third year on the district. The meagre information we have concerning these men comes from the Minutes. Both were received on trial at the conference from which they went to the circuit, but neither continued long in the ministry. Lackey's name disappears from the records subsequent to his appointment in 1799. Whitby located that same year.

James Moore, 49 who served the Tioga circuit in 1794 under Fleming, and who was in charge of Wyoming five years later, was born in County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1760, and united with the Methodists when twenty-six years of age. At the age of thirty-two he emigrated to this country and in 1794 united with the Philadelphia conference. Completing thirty-six years in the effective relation, he became a supernumerary, and as such served as a supply for a dozen additional years. The last period of his life was as a member of the New Jersey conference from the time of its organization in 1837 until the date of his death, May 11, 1842. Moore excelled as an exhorter rather than as a preacher. However, his all-around qualifications of religious experience, devotion and sound judgment enabled him to be a useful as well as an acceptable minister. A story told of him is a commentary of the type of man he was. One Nathan Parish solicited the aid of Moore in securing a license to preach. Doubting the suitability of the young man to become a preacher, he nevertheless proposed to the candidate that he preach a sermon in his presence so that he might pass upon his merits. Parish consented to the suggestion but made a miserable failure of his effort. Meantime, Moore, consistent with his own convictions, prayed for the young man, not that he might succeed but that it might be made clear to him that he was not truly called to the ministry! This may be a charitable interpretation of the prayer. Anyhow Moore was not again pestered by this particular person.

### SOME EARLEY LAYMEN

Basically the church has always been constituted of laymen, without whom it could not exist. Indeed they are the source whence come all the ministers. From the beginning Methodism has depended upon and used laymen whether in their private capacity or as lay ministers. In the early days very much of the preaching was done by laymen who were licensed as "local" preachers. The first active Methodist in Northeastern Pennsylvania was for a long time simply a layman who presently became a local preacher and later an ordained traveling minister of the Gospel-Anning Owen. He gathered laymen about him, both men and women, who in turn took up the task of bringing their friends and neighbors to Christ and his church. Many of these are as anonymous today as several of the personages in the Bible. Fortunately there are a few of whom we have some knowledge however fragmentary. Our scanty records yield but little information as to when they become active Christians. To assume that all who entered into fellowship with the church remained steadfast would be unwarranted. One of the prominent teachings of the itinerants was that of the possibility of "falling from grace," against which they gave frequent warnings. It must be admitted that in spite of the urgent admonitions some did stray from the Christian way of life. However, for the most part they proved loyal even under adverse conditions and closed their days in triumphant faith.

The names of several laymen of the infant church have already been given together with a few details about their lives. In general these and others that may be named continued only as laymen, with here and there an exception, such as Owen and Bidlack who became circuit riders. Realizing that the history of any church is not to be summed up in the careers of its ministers, it is pertinent to give more than passing notice to the rank and file of the membership wherever information is available. Therefore without attempting to catalogue here all the names of the early Methodist men and women some additional data will be ventured.

Capt. Ebenezer Parish,<sup>50</sup> the first class leader in Wyoming, was a valiant Christian for several years. In his home where the Ross Hill class met regularly he had the honor of entertaining Bishop Asbury when the bishop paid his first visit to the region. The time came, however, when the captain lapsed from his loyalties, consorted with convivial companions and was overtaken by his old habit of drink. His successor as leader was Darius Williams<sup>51</sup> who became a

local preacher and was a valued worker in spite of the fact that his ardor abated at times.

Among other early members of the class were Mrs. Abel (Ruth) Pierce<sup>52</sup> and her husband's two sisters, Alice and Hannah Pierce. Mr. Pierce prior to the war settled near the bank of the river in the upper part of Kingston proper. Both he and his wife who survived him many years were known for their eccentricities. Her first contact with Methodism was at the home of a neighbor by the name of Buck. Having heard that the Bucks were entertaining a Methodist preacher she went to see what kind of a strange creature he might be, assuming that Methodists were fools as well as fanatics. But when she beheld the man, who proved to be none other than the saintly Colbert, her arrogance left her. Utterly overwhelmed by the benignity of the minister's countenance, she humbly withdrew, deeply sensitive of her own unworthiness. It was not long before she was numbered among the despised Methodists. "Aunt Ruth," as she came to be called, and still later, "Grandmother Pierce," had other qualities of soul besides eccentricities. Her wit and humor made her the life of any party. She also had a kindly heart that endeared her in the affection of others, and a courage that evinced a mettle of unusual quality. On one occasion when on her way to a service in Forty Fort she was thrown from her carriage, incurring the dislocation of her arm. Suffering intense pain, she went from the church to a house nearby where a surgeon restored the bones to their proper place. Then she returned to the love feast as though nothing unusual had happened. Needless to say Grandmother Pierce was faithful in her devotions to the end of her long life. One of her daughters married Lord Butler, son of Colonel Zebulor Butler of Revolutionary fame. The old homestead in due time passed into the possession of Pierce Butler, of the third generation, and then to his successors. Not far from the Abel Pierce home lived his two unmarried sisters, Alice and Hannah, on the west bank of Butler's Greek. Like themselves, their home was neat, plain and responsive to the calls af Methodism. They were consistent attendants at church services, and true types of the Methodists of that day in the simplicity of their dress and deportment.

Another staunch member of the young church was Mrs. Duane whose first husband, Timothy Pierce, <sup>53</sup> was one of the patriots slain in the Indian Battle. Even after they were married Mr. Duane continued to show his deep-seated antipathy toward the Methodists, some times in very crude ways. It may be assumed that Mr. Duane's idiosyncrasies were a source of disturbance to his good wife but that she considered them only a phase of the boasted infidenity of the times, which it was. It may also be assumed that the sincerity and sanity of her Christian womanhood had its influence upon his better self, for the time came when he humbly regretted his part in the brimstone fiasco when Cook was in Wilkes-Barre, and himself became a Methodist Christian. Mrs. Duane

had two daughters by her first husband, Clara and Polly Pierce, who were members of the church. As previously stated, Clara<sup>54</sup> became the wife of Alward White during the second year of his ministry in Wyoming, at the close of which he located and moved to Maryland for a few years.

Thomas Bennett<sup>55</sup> and his wife, the former Martha Jackson, were among the famous forty families that arrived in Wyoming in 1769. Having followed the route westward by way of Shohola, Little Meadows and Cobb's Hill, they first settled on an island well up the Valley and later at a point near the fort. Bennett was actively involved in the Yankee-Pennamite struggle and was at one time in jail in Philadelphia because of the part he took in that conflict. Though considered one of the "old men," he volunteered to serve against the British and Indians. He was not, however, actually engaged in the battle of early July, 1778, but remained as one of the protective guards over the women and children in the fort. It was in his house that Col. Nathan Dennison, representing the settlers, met with Col. John Butler, representing the British and Indians, to arrange the terms of capitulation after the battle. The Bennetts, who became Methodists, had four children. Solomon, evidently the eldest, took part in the battle, but managed to escape by making his way through the river to Monocasy Island and then to the farther shore. Martha, who was born in Rhode Island on Jan. 15, 1763, was betrothed to William Smith, the son of Dr. W. H. Smith by a former marriage. This young man having been killed in the Wyoming battle, Martha later married Philip Myers, as previously mentioned. Andrew, the third of the Bennett children, was but eleven years of age at the time of the tragic event. At the same time the youngest child, Mary, was a little girl of five years. When she grew to womanhood she married a Mr. Tuttle. Late in life she imparted important data for the histories of Dr. George Peck, her nephew by marriage. Subsequent to the battle Mrs. Bennett and the younger child joined Solomon and his father in Stroudsburg, preferring rather to incur the ordeals of the Shades of Death together with other refugees than to subject themselves to nameless terrors at the hands of the red men. Ultimately they returned to the Valley as did others.

Closely associated with the Bennetts was Col. Nathan Dennison<sup>56</sup> who came from Hartford, Conn., and for a time boarded with them. The latter fact affords explanation for the meeting of Col. Dennison with Col. John Butler in the Bennett home when they arranged the conditions of surrender. Col. Dennison was conspicuous in the battle, having charge of the left flank of the defenders' forces. His marriage to Betsy Sill is said to have been the first wedding to be solemnized in Wyoming. The home of this kindly and devout man became a stopping place for traveling preachers, some of whom boarded there. Among the many to whom its hospitality was extended was Bishop Asbury. The civic positions to which Col. Dennison was called from time to time are witness to the high

regard in which he was held as a citizen. His family included three daughters and two sons. The daughters became members of the Methodist church, two of whom, Betsy and Polly, have already been mentioned. Though the sons did not affiliate with the church they were highly respected, Lazarus, a farmer, living on the old homestead in Wyoming, and the other, George, a lawyer, becoming a member of Congress, before which body he made a strong speech against the admission of Missouri as a slave state.

The Wadhams<sup>57</sup> family, living in Plymouth, early became a strong factor in the extension of Methodism. The Reverend Noah Wadhams, a graduate of Princeton, was originally a Congregational minister who had served his church in the East. After coming to Plymouth he became imbued with the spirit of Methodism, and, having joined the Methodist church, he soon went here and there as a local preacher, spreading its teachings. His death occurred in 1806, after spending some years in retirement. In coming to the Valley Noah Wadhams had been preceded by his sons Moses and Calvin, both of whom had united with the Methodist church. Moses, who is described as "a simple-minded, earnest Christian," succeeded Jeremiah Coleman, the first class leader in Plymouth, after Coleman's death. Calvin Wadhams was a trophy of the labors of Valentine Cook, albeit a great admirer of "Daddy Turck." His home was ever open to the preachers and was also frequently the scene of quarterly meetings. By thrift and business acumen he acquired considerable property. His energy and generosity contributed largely to the erection of "the Academy," a school building whose second story was adapted for worship services. Indeed it was the only church edifice in the community for half a century. After the death of his wife, who was a devout member of the Methodist church, he married a Mrs. Lucas, who, together with her lately deceased husband, had been a member of the Ross Hill class from an early date. Calvin Wadhams' only son, Samuel, not only inherited his father's estate but also became the connecting link by which the Methodist tradition has been handed down to succeeding generations.

Huldah Weeks<sup>58</sup> was only five years of age when the famous Battle was fought in which her three brothers were slain. Escaping with her father to New England, they returned after the Indian troubles and again took up their residence in the Valley. In 1789 she was married to Comfort Cary, the two residing in Carytown until they moved to Hanover two years later. Mr. and Mrs. Cary were converted under the preaching of Valentine Cook early in 1796 just before he closed his labors in Wyoming. Mrs. Cary's vivid description of a quarterly meeting conducted by Cook in the home of Aaron Dean on Ross Hill has already been related. After the death of Azel Dana, the first class leader in Wilkes-Barre, which occurred in 1844, Comfort Cary became the leader, walking four miles to and from the meetings.

# V. At the Turn of the Century

### WARE AGAIN ON THE DISTRICT-RETURN OF COLBERT

ALTHOUGH VALENTINE COOK finished his work in Wyoming early in 1796 Thomas Ware,¹ who succeeded him, did not receive his appointment until the close of the conference that convened in Philadelphia on Oct. 10 of that year, and did not go to his field of labor until after the session of the General Conference which met in Baltimore shortly afterward. This was Ware's second term in charge of the territory that included Northeastern Pennsylvania. Strictly his former service in this section can scarcely be called a term for the reason that previously his supervision had been for less than a year when he substituted for Robert Cloud. Just as Cook followed Ware for three years so now Ware succeeded Cook for three years. Meantime the district had expanded greatly both in area and in the number of circuits involved. It now extended from Wilmington Del., to the Finger Lake region, embracing the eastern half of Pennsylvania and parts of New Jersey. From this time forward for several years Wyoming was connected with the Philadelphia conference instead of with the Baltimore as was the case in recent years.

It would be difficult to conceive a greater contrast between two men than between Cook and Ware. The former was a robust, passionate preacher whose pathos and eloquence swept everything before him. He had a gift of imagination which, coupled with deep emotion, overwhelmed his hearers almost beyond their ability to resist. Ware, on the other hand, without being less spiritual, was moderate in all of his expressions. His demeanor was calm yet congenial. Lacking the pulpit power of his predecessor, he nevertheless won the hearts of the people as he came into their homes where his words were always helpful and instructive. As is often the case today when ministers of contrasting types follow each other, Ware reached people by a different route than did Cook, and may have favorably affected some whose lives never responded to the great evangelist. There are not lacking modern instances of people who react differently to dissimilar kinds of ministers just as did those who were strongly attached to Cook and who were emphatic and public in calling attention to what they found in Cook but failed to discover in Ware. This trait of human nature was brought out at Ware's first quarterly meeting which was held in Kingston. At the prayer meeting service on Saturday evening Darius Williams, whose ardor was not always uniform, offered a fervent prayer in which he pleaded, "O, Lord bless our new elder and give him more religion, or he will be trod down in the gate!" A hearty "Amen!" was echoed around the room. Whatever Ware's inner feelings may have been he wisely kept them to himself, doubtless appreciating the good intentions of the petitioners, yet realizing his own sources of strength. His fortitude was based on the conviction that he had a mission as well as a message.

The achievements of Ware's first year of this term on the district were not outstanding. Among the preachers under him was Alward White now in his second year on the Wyoming circuit. At Tioga Michael H. R. Wilson,<sup>2</sup> who had just united with the conference on trial, was serving his first and only year as a circuit rider. Two years later he died when less than twenty-eight years of age. This was only one of many instances of brief careers in the ministry of those times.

The year 1796, however, is distinguished as the time in which there entered into the itinerancy the man who initiated the Methodist work that spread from Ross Hill throughout the Wyoming Valley, up the Susquehanna and into the interior of Central and Western New York, Anning Owen.<sup>3</sup> The Minutes for this year listed him as one of those "who remain on trial," though there is nothing to indicate that he had previously been received on trial. Prior to this he had for some years exercised the office of a local preacher and had even been ordained as a local deacon. During that time he had preached extensively without having had any regular appointment. His first recorded appointment was in 1796 when he and Hamilton Jefferson were sent to the Seneca Circuit. The following year he was received into full membership with the conference, ordained a "traveling" elder and reappointed to Seneca. After serving three additional years on as many circuits Owen came to Wyoming as the associate of Ephraim Chambers in 1801.

Ware's second year on the district was marked by "a glorious religious excitement" which began on the Strasburg and Chester circuits and spread far and wide, exceeding anything he had ever witnessed. It swept like a great conflagration northward through Middletown, Northumberland, Wilkes-Barre and on into the lake country, to the Genessee valley and to Western New York. At the time of this revival Ware was residing in Strasburg where on Oct. 15, at the opening of the conference year of 1797-98, he had married Miss Barbara Miller who was thirty-five years of age, or a year younger than himself. Strangely enough the membership<sup>4</sup> of the Wyoming circuit during this period decreased from 221 to 181 where it remained for two years and then to 170 at the end of Ware's third year, whereas there was a general increase throughout the district. For the same years Tioga reported 138 members at the beginning of Ware's incumbency, dropped to 110 and then rose to 127 and 191 respectively at the end of the

three succeeding years. In this last year, however, Tioga was in another group. Variations in the constituency of circuits and other factors could account for the fluctuations in membership.

The General Minutes indicate that William Colbert<sup>5</sup> was appointed to Bristol, one of the circuits on Ware's district, in October, 1796, to Chester a year later and to Wyoming in June, 1798. Reference to his Journal reveals that his ministry in reality varied widely from this schedule. It confirms his appointment to Bristol but does not mention Chester. It informs us that he left Bristol in the middle of the year for the north country, that he went back to the conference in the fall of 1797, and that he came to Wyoming in the summer of 1798 after having again labored in Bristol. All of which underscores the statement that both the appointees and those who made the appointments took great liberties as to procedures in carrying forward the work of the church. Objectives were considered of more importance than strict adherence to a fixed system.

Colbert wrote that he entered upon a missionary project in the North in April, 1797. Whether Bishop Asbury was responsible for sending him on this errand, or whether it was a part of the policy of Thomas Ware for the total service of the district, we can only conjecture. Most likely it fitted into the statesmanship of the latter to ask Colbert to leave Bristol in the hands of his colleague, Joseph Whitby, and to join himself with the preachers who were serving the struggling Seneca circuit. Preliminary to his special mission Colbert took occasion to revisit the familiar places and people where and with whom he had done such valiant pioneering a few years earlier along the Susquehanna.

Leaving Bristol, which is a dozen miles up the Delaware river from Philadelphia, it was but natural that Colbert would come by way of Stroudsburg and then over the mountain to Wyoming, approaching from the east. Laconically his Journal takes up the story. "Friday, April 7. Rode through the rain—through 'the Shades of Death'—passed the Susquehanna, and got once more to Darius Williams', in Wyoming (Kingston, to be exact), where I found my good old friend, Elisha Cole." Saturday an "extra quarterly meeting was held at the Williams home where he preached. Cole exhorted, as did Alward White who had this year taken a location. That night Colbert lodged at Aaron Dean's. Allowing him to continue the narrative we read:

"Sunday, 9. This morning we had a happy love feast. Elisha Cole preached from Acts 28:22; Alward White gave an exhortation after him; and I preached from Luke 22:19, and administered the Lord's Supper. At night Elisha Cole preached at the schoolhouse near Colonel Dennison's, his text being Gal. 6:9. I sung and prayed after him, and lodged with Michael Roy Hines Wilson, a young invalid preacher, at Colonel Dennison's. I have felt well among my brethren in Wyoming."

The passage from Acts very likely was made to apply to the Methodists as "this sect . . . that everywhere . . . is spoken against." Young Wilson, who was

engaged to the colonel's daughter<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth, died the following year. Subsequently she married Colonel Elijah Shoemaker.

After a needed rest at the Dennison home on Monday Colbert continued his visitation as well as his labors among familiar scenes, as his pen discloses.

"Tuesday, 11. I crossed the river and preached at Burger's from Col. 2:6. While I was speaking a sick young man came in and desired liberty to lie down. After I had preached, and spoken to the class, I spoke to him, and found him of deistical principles. I crossed the river again, drank tea at Mr. Smith's, and lodged at 'Squire Carpenter's. His family used me with great kindness. Since I was in this country the Lord has taken from them a daughter who had not been long married; but happy for her that she had embraced religion while in health. She was a delightful singer, and I trust has gone to sing on high."

This young woman was the first wife of Jacob Bedford<sup>7</sup> who subsequently married Deborah Sutton, one of the outstanding Methodist women of this section for three-quarters of a century.

Colbert's notes continue.

Wednesday, 12. Rode from Carpenter's to my old friend Rosecrantz, (sic,) where I used formerly to preach, and from Rosecrantz' to Darius Williams'." [He did not preach at the former home because of noisy children, but did preach at Williams' from Tuesday's text.] "From Williams' I walked a little distance to a friend's by the name of Pierce, and while I was conversing with Sister Pierce ('Aunt Ruth' Pierce), who should walk in but David Downing, from the state of Delaware, who was moving, with his wife and seven children, having seventy or eighty miles of the worst road yet to go. It is well, if this is not the beginning of sorrows with these people. Thursday, 13. At night preached at Jeremiah Coleman's from Mat. 12:43-45, and met a class. Here the friends are lively. Friday, 14. Preached at Ashbel Waller's from Mal. 3:16-18, and spent the afternoon and part of the evening in reading 'The Shipwreck', an elegant poem by William Falconer. Saturday, 15. Got through 'The Shipwreck' and preached from I Cor. 13:13 at old mother Hide's, in Hanover, and returned to Ashbel Waller's.

"Sunday, 16. Preached in the court house in Wilkes-Barre to an attentive congregation, some of whom, I suppose, were deists. I felt myself for some time at a loss for a subject to address these people on. I wanted to preach pointedly against deism, but was afraid I should not do justice to such an important subject; and as it seemed probable that a great part of them professed to believe the Bible, I spoke to them accordingly, and concluded with a word of caution to the deists."

### His text was Acts 3:19.

A peculiar condition<sup>8</sup> existed in Wilkes-Barre at this time. Many of the leading men of the town were followers of one Elihu Palmer, or "Blind Palmer," who was the author of "The Principles of Nature," a book definitely antagonistic to Christianity. A brother of this man was living in Wilkes-Barre where he practiced law and where he had great influence in promoting the heretical doctrines. Side by side with the book mentioned there was extensively circulated Paine's "Age of Reason." The clique of local men who sponsored the anti-Christian

teachings stood as a solid wall against the preachments of the Methodist ministers. Although the women did not read the books or accept their doctrines they were deterred from indentifying themselves with the Methodist movement by the obdurate attitude of their husbands. However, there were exceptional cases in which women braved the opposition of their husbands and entered into fellowship and service with the despised, persecuted Methodists.

Continuing his Journal for Sunday, Colbert

"dined at the Widdow Johnson's; crossed the river and preached at the schoolhouse near Colonel Dennison's from Rom. 1:16, and lodged at Colonel Dennison's. Monday, 17. Preached at Benjamin Carpenter's from Heb. 12:14, and lodged at Abraham Goodwin's. These are kind people, but the children are so noisy there is no satisfaction to be had in the place."

When we read in Colbert's Journal his frequent mention of the annoyance children caused him we conclude he must have been a man of unusually sensitive nerves. Could the fact that he was now a bachelor of thirty-three years have any relation to his attitude? There are other unanswered questions that arise when we recall that after delaying his marriage until he was forty years of age he became the father of a dozen children!

The next entry in the diary reads:

"Tuesday, 18. Rode to Benjamin Carpenter's. The weather too inclement to travel. My time was too short to accomplish my business, if I had stayed; and then no weather a man can live in ought to stop him, that is, when he can do good by remaining. Wednesday, 19. Rode from Carpenter's to James Rice's (Trucksville<sup>10</sup>). Attended a prayer meeting at friend Smith's at night, and found myself in my element."

The next day, after scarcely one week among his Wyoming friends, Colbert took time out to spend several days in visiting and preaching on the Northumberland circuit. Retracing his steps he reached Coleman's in Plymouth on Tuesday, May 9, and lodged there over night. Thenceforward for the ensuing days as a militant minister he made forced marches into the wilds of New York, camping over night and halting to eat here and there, but having no preaching engagements.

Here is the account of his progression as given mostly in the first person singular.

"Wednesday, 10. We rode from Coleman's to Colonel Dennison's. Dined with Alward White and Michael R. H. Wilson; rode on to James Sutton's. Thus have I got on the frontiers of Wyoming once more, on my way to Tioga. Thursday, 11. I have had a long and tiresome ride over the Luzerne Mountains from Sutton's to Humphrey Brown's tavern, a disagreeable place. I had to lodge in a room with three or four vile wretches. As the company of such abominable beings is so disagreeable here on earth, what care ought to be taken to escape hell, where they are so much worse. Friday, 12. Rode from Brown's to my old friend Cole's where I believe they were glad to see me. O how better it is for me to be here than where I was last night!"

The following day he dined at Green's, Sheshequin, and then rode on to Chemung in New York that afternoon. The journey to this point had by no means been taken by easy stages. It was no small feat to cover ninety or more miles in three days over crude roads and in an age when what few bridges there were were almost impassable. Whether for man or beast this was a challenging undertaking. Only the inner compulsion of a minister who felt that "the king's business requires haste" would suffice to meet that challenge.

It was not till the twentieth of May, 1797, that Colbert reached the Seneca circuit and began his mission in association with Hamilton Jefferson and Anning Owen, the regularly appointed preachers in this field. He mentions the former particularly as being his colleague and describes him as "a man high in the esteem of many of the people." For a month he filled a busy schedule and then late in June he was taken down with malaria which gave him much distress and greatly impaired his usefulness. As the time approached for the convening of the conference Colbert and some others set out four weeks in advance so as to be present at its session, He and Owen lodged at Green's on Friday, Sept. 15, and the next day attended a quarterly meeting at Henry Salisbury's, near Towanda. Here Jefferson preached from Ps. 84:11, and was followed by Owen in a concluding exhortation. Colbert and Elisha Cole lodged at Baldwin's, Wyalusing, after they had conducted a service in which the former had spoken on the subject of prayer. Sunday began with a love feast in which Owen had the leading part. During the day sermons were preached by Jefferson, Colbert and Cole, their texts being respectively I Thess. 5:17; Rom. 8:17, and John 3:14 and 15. Colbert expressed the hope that their labors, which were abundant, would not prove to be in vain.

Monday Colbert and Owen were at the home of Solomon Franklin, above Towanda, the Franklin family having been one of the earliest to migrate to this part of the state. They lodged at the home of Samuel Cole, father of Elisha, and the next day called on Mr. Mann, formerly of Wilkes-Barre. That evening a prayermeeting was held at the home of Solomon Cole, the grandfather of Elisha. Thursday Colbert went with the latter to a Baptist "meeting house" at Blackwalnut Bottom, near Skinner's Eddy, where he preached from Acts 16:30, 31, Jefferson exhorting after him. They lodged at the home of an elderly Baptist minister by the name of Sturdevant. 11 This man had married a Methodist woman for his second wife and was more friendly toward Methodists than at an earlier time mentioned by Mrs. Bedford. On the former occasion when she was visiting her brother William Sutton, who was the leader of a class of a dozen members, "Old Elder Sturdevant" announced that on a certain Sunday he would preach to both Baptists and Methodists. His intent was to unite all in one fellowship. Announcing as his text John 10:1, which reads, "Verily I say unto you, he that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber," he delivered a long discourse to the effect that his hearers should all believe and become Baptists, ignoring the fact that the passage relates strictly to different kinds of shepherds and does not refer to people in general.

Mrs. Bedford who narrated the incident to Dr. Peck gave these added details:

"After the sermon was finished my brother went out and opened his hymn book, when we all gathered around him. Sister Young, one of the members of our church, came to me crying bitterly, and saying, 'Elder Sturdevant wanted us to be united as one people, but he has now shut up the door.' Then I said to her, 'This reminds me of the war between the Pennamites and the Yankees. The Pennamites told our people that, if they would lay down their arms, they would be one. Our men laid down their arms, when the Pennamites took them up, and bound our men and sent them to jail.' Then I shouted, 'Glory to God! They can neither bind us nor send us to jail.' My brother sang an appropriate hymn, when we went into the house and stood up and sang another hymn. The Lord showed who were his people that day. There were a great many of Elder Sturdevant's people who stayed with us, and appeared very friendly, but seemed rather gloomy. Then we went into another room and held a class meeting. After singing and prayer we arose and told our experience—such power and love as was manifested. The experiences were told with such clearness that it was evident that the work was of God. My brother spoke to the members of the Baptist church who were present. They said that they had once enjoyed religion, but now did not as they wished to. He then spoke to Mr. Agard, a Baptist minister, and he told pretty much the same story; but he encouraged us to go on, as he thought we were right."

More than a score of years later several members of the Sturdevant<sup>12</sup> family united with the Methodists and became staunch and influential members of the church.

Friday, Sept. 22, the preachers reached Sutton's, and on Saturday attended a quarterly meeting at Gilbert Carpenter's. Between the two places Colbert left his saddlebags at the shop where he had had his horse shod. On this day Jefferson preached from Rom. 12:1 and Colbert from Judges 3:10. The exhortation was by Michael Wilson whom Colbert now explains had been invalided by the rigors of the work on the Tioga circuit. In the evening Cole used Luke 10:11, 12 as his text, after which Waller, Bidlack, Owen and Williams exhorted. After the lovefeast on Sunday Colbert preached from John 3:16. The second sermon of the day was by Jefferson from I Sam. 12:23,24, and the third by Cole from Eph. 5:25-27. After the sacrament of the Lord's Supper Wilson concluded the service with an exhortation. Colbert and Cole lodged at Aaron Dean's. During the day the former had been depressed by the recollection of earlier days and by learning of the misfortunes of another minister by the name of William Brandon<sup>13</sup> who, not being a member of the conference as yet, was serving as a supply under Thomas Ware. The nature of this young man's difficulties was not disclosed. In 1801 he was received on trial and a year later named for Wyoming, but in 1805 he was expelled from the conference. Monday Colbert in WilkesBarre discoursed on Amos 4:12 and afterward lodged at the home of Mrs. Johnson whose late husband had been a prominent Congregational minister a decade earlier. She herself had come to entertain a cordial attitude toward the Methodists and often opened her home for the accommodation of their ministers.

## COMPLETING TEN YEARS OF MINISTERIAL LEADERSHIP SINCE N. B. MILLS

On Tuesday the company of preachers moved on down the river en route to Duck Creek, <sup>14</sup> Md., where the Philadelphia conference convened Oct. 10, 1797. From this session Roger Benton and James Stokes were sent respectively to the Wyoming and Tioga circuits. The ministerial career of these two men<sup>15</sup> was brief. Each had been received on trial a year earlier. Stokes' name appears among the appointments for three years only. Benton's<sup>16</sup> ministry spanned ten years, three of which were without appointments because of illness. He was described by Mrs. Bedford as being "a short, thick-set man, and a smart preacher." His voice normally was stentorian but was impaired by ill health. In character he was consistently meek and modest, and was held in high esteem both in the church and among his neighbors. It was from this conference that Colbert went to Bristol, as he states, rather than to Chester as indicated in the Minutes.

The next session of the conference was held eight months later in Philadelphia and recorded some interesting developments. First of all there was a radically new alingment of districts17 that divided the work at Tioga from that at Wyoming, and placed these circuits respectively under two different presiding elders. Only once before, and that for a single year, had they been thus separated. But now and for the ensuing seven years with the exception of 1799 the source of their supervision was from centers far removed from each other. Wyoming was continued with the same general group of circuits, slightly reduced, that extended down into Delaware and included Northumberland and Philadelphia. Over this group Ware was assigned for his third year. Tioga was placed with a greatly altered district that included Seneca and Albany in New York, and that had for its presiding elder Freeborn Garrettson who was consistently continuing the promotion of Methodism with the Hudson valley as the base of his operations. As it was his policy to make periodic visits to every part of his district it goes without the saying that he included Tioga in his regular rounds. In this way he directly touched the work in Northeastern Pennsylvania.

From the conference<sup>18</sup> held in Philadelphia June 5-9, 1798, Colbert was sent to Wyoming and John Lackey and John Leach to Northumberland. The total ministry of the latter was brief. Mention has been made of Lackey who was at Tioga three years earlier. Leach,<sup>19</sup> who was received on trial the year before coming to Northumberland, was at Tioga in 1799. After serving a year each on five circuits he died in 1802. He is described as possessing "good abilities,

and was acceptable and useful in his preaching." Evidently the inexperience of these two men as well as the physical disabilities of John Leach made it necessary for Colbert<sup>20</sup> to supervise and supplement their services in addition to his own work at Wyoming. As several pages of the Journal are lacking Colbert's records for about six months are not available. Taking up his account with Saturday, Aug. 18, he speaks of being in the home of Darius Williams, Kingston, where he associated himself with others in the quarterly meeting he found in progress. Thomas Ware was in charge and preached from Is. 54:5-8, after which Lackey, Leach and Colbert exhorted. In the evening Colbert discoursed on Rom. 10:13, later lodging at the home of 'Squire Abel Pierce. At the Sunday morning love feast two or three professed conversion. Ware preached an excellent sermon based on Prov. 22:23, Lackey and Colbert exhorting after him. Monday they went to Coleman's where the presiding elder preached from Mat. 11:16-17, and was followed by Colbert in exhortation.

During the next four weeks the group made the rounds of the Northumberland circuit. On Tuesday, Sept. 18, Colbert was back in Plymouth where he preached at Coleman's from Acts 16:28, and in the evening conducted a class meeting as well as a prayer meeting. The next day he went over the mountain to Trucksville, accompanied by Mrs. Hodge and Mrs. Samuel Holley. There he preached in the home of Eben Russell from Is. 55:6. and then conducted an enjoyable class meeting. At the Holley home on Thursday he read in the "Life of Baron Fenk," a martyr of Magdeburg. Friday evening he used as a text Amos 5:6 for a sermon in the school house near Col. Dennison's. Saturday he was reading and writing at the home of James Rice.

At Williams' on Sunday morning Colbert's text was Mal. 3:16-18, and in the evening at Carpenter's it was Mark 16:15, 16. Monday he went to Sutton's where he fell asleep while reading. Awaking a half hour late for his three o'clock engagement, he made sorry work of trying to discourse on Mat. 18:3. Tuesday he preached at Joseph Waller's and lodged at Daniel Taylor's, both homes being in Providence. Wednesday at Jesse Gardner's, Plains, he met five members, four of whom he was obliged to expel because they began quarrelling as soon as they came together. Thursday he dined in Wilkes-Barre and then went to Elijah Inman's where he expounded Ps. 19:11. Friday his theme was based on Mat. 25:15 in the Bennett home. His comment about his lodging in the Reeder home in Newport was that it was very disagreeable.

After another tour on the Northumberland circuit, which required a month, Colbert came to Reeder's, expecting to preach in the evening. The few who had presented themselves for the service had departed before his arrival. The next day no one appeared for a day-time meeting appointed to be held at Inman's. In the evening, however, he was able to have a service at Gardner's. Thursday, Nov. 1, a few were present to hear Colbert "enlarge" upon Mat. 18:15-18 in

spite of the disturbance caused by a drunken man. After spending Friday at Sutton's and Saturday at Col. Dennison's he on Sunday preached in the school house in the morning, at Williams' in the afternoon, and in the evening at the home of William George, in Wilkes-Barre, his texts being Mat. 24:42; Is. 3:10, 11, and Col. 2:6. The name of William George was a new one on his list of preaching places. As this man was poor Mrs. Hollenback invited Colbert to her home for lodging. Monday he visited John Lackey whom he found ill at Holley's. Tuesday at Trucksville he held only a prayer meeting as there were but two women who came to the service, possibly the Mesdames Hodge and Holley. The next day he preached at Coleman's from I Cor. 6:19, 20.

Returning once more from a visitation of the Northumberland circuit Colbert on Tuesday, Dec. 11, again made Reeder's his first stopping place. He, however, did not find any improvement in the conditions of the home which he for a second time described as a wretched place where he could scarcely obtain feed for a tired horse. Wednesday he passed through Wilkes-Barre on his way to Gardner's where he found Lackey, now recovered from his illness. The next day he went to Daniel Taylor's where he preached from I Cor. 13:13. After this date the pages of Colbert's Journal for next several months are missing. However, the General Minutes<sup>21</sup> show that from the Philadelphia conference which convened June 6, 1799, he was sent to Chester and Strasburg for one year. After serving two other charges for one year each he was to revisit Northeastern Pennsylvania for two years, first as presiding elder of the Albany district and then of the Genesee district, both within the Philadelphia conference.

For the year 1798-99 Johnson Dunham<sup>22</sup> was the preacher in charge at Tioga. Concerning this man no information is available beyond the bare facts given in the General Minutes. He was received on trial in 1797 and sent to Seneca, and was regularly advanced to deacon's and elder's orders and to full membership in the conference. However, after nine years in the itinerancy he took a location.

Thus were completed the first ten years of Methodism in Northeastern Pennsylvania under ministerial leadership and supervision from 1789 when Nathaniel B. Mills, the first circuit rider in these parts, set his seal upon the foundations so nobly and lovingly laid by Anning Owen and his cooperators. Not even now was the membership great numerically, though there surely were more than 250 members, not counting such as were identified with the Wyoming and Tioga circuits but resided outside the area under consideration. But there are other standards of measurement by which the achievements of the church may be considered at the end of its first decade. It was great in the quality of its membership, great in its strategic position and great in its potentials for the future and for the advancement of the Christian religion.

#### BIDLACK A CIRCUIT RIDER

As has been noted Tioga in 1798 was placed in the Albany district, of which Freeborn Garrettson was the presiding elder. Prior to this the work which Garrettson and his associates had developed along the Hudson had fanned out westward far into Central New York as well as in other directions. It was but natural that this movement should tie in with the evangelism that had proceeded from Wyoming and that Tioga should be brought into the Albany orbit. A year later Wyoming<sup>23</sup> and even Northumberland were caught up into this sphere of operations. During the next ten years both Tioga and Wyoming vacillated between the pull from the north and the pull from the south until the pull from the north eventually won out at the time when the Genesee conference was created in 1810.

In 1799 William M'Lenahan<sup>24</sup> succeeded Garrettson as presiding elder on the Albany district which included eight circuits in addition to Tioga and Wyoming-Northumberland. The preachers on the latter circuit were James Moore, Benjamin Bidlack and David Stevens. Moore has already been mentioned in connection with Tioga where he served six years earlier. Stevens<sup>25</sup> was at least thirty-six years old when he took up the work of the ministry which, according to his memoirs, was in 1795. The first appearence of his name in the Minutes was in 1796 when he was listed as being stationed at Kent without any indication of his having been received on trial. The following year he was named as among those remaining on trial, and thenceforward he was credited with appointments down to 1825, his death occurring Dec. 15 of that year. He is said to have traveled extensively "until the day of his death."

Bidlack,<sup>26</sup> whose remarkable conversion under the ministry of Anthony Turck has been discussed, was this year received on trial at the age of forty, and was commissioned to begin his ministry among his old friends as well as among some who were his enemies. But being the kind of man he was, nothing would deter him from full service among all classes of people. He was one of many officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary army who after the war enlisted wholeheartedly in the Methodist ministry. Such men were enured to dangers and difficulties, and possessed the nerve and courage to meet the severe tests of opening up the wilderness for the advancement of the Christian church. As in the case of Anning Owen, Benjamin Bidlack never escaped the conviction that his life had been preserved by divine interposition when on many an occasion he had been delivered from death on the field of battle. One incident in particular stood out indelibly in his memory. It was at the close of the war and not at a time of combat. While in charge of a team attached to a wagon he threw a bomb which unexpectedly exploded, sending fragments all about him. That he survived unscathed appeared to him as nothing less than a divine miracle. This conviction remained with him throughout the rest of his life and qualified his Christian service with a special sense of obligation and devotion.

When Bidlack began his ministry he was middle-aged and had a wife and three daughters. These were sufficient reasons why his first assignment was in his home community where in fact he had often been heard. Beginning thus in 1799 he served a total of sixteen years before his superannuation twenty years later, having reverted to the status of a local preacher for four years after twelve years of continuous service in the "traveling" relation. His appointments were as remote from each other as Northumberland and Lycoming in Pennsylvania to Herkimen and Seneca in New York, and with but four exceptions were changed each year. Often the changes necessitated moving from one extreme of the district to another. Yet into all of his work he carried the bearing and discipline of a militant Christian.

Bidlack's homiletical methods never came from the schools but were entirely original. Nevertheless they were practical and well suited to the man and to most of his auditors. He followed the custom of his contemporaries in announcing the outline of his discourses. One of his best known themes was from the Scriptures in Acts 17:6, "These that have turned the world upside down are come hither also." Setting forth the plan of his sermon, he declared, "First, I shall show that the world was made right side up. Secondly, that it has been turned wrong side up. And thirdly, that it is to be turned upside down; then it will be right side up again." All of this fitted into the Methodist doctrinal pattern which held, (1) that man had been created holy, (2) that he fell through Adam's sin, (3) that he had been redeemed through Christ, and (4) that he is made holy again through the grace of the Holy Spirit. The follow-up on such a sermon was an appeal for men to "repent and be converted."

Benjamin Bidlack was a man of commanding appearance, being more than six feet tall, erect in posture, deep-chested, broad of shoulders and sturdy of limbs. His black locks fell down upon his shoulders. His large, open features commingled expressions of gravity, benignity and cheerfulness. His voice was both powerful and melodious, though late in life it reflected the effect of the frequent strain that had been put upon it by its use in barns and in the open air. Never a deep thinker, at the same time his preaching was effective and often rose to heights of swaying eloquence in the presence of large audiences, as at campmeetings and at sessions of the conference. Early denied the advantages of a formal education, nevertheless he applied himself to the study of history and theology to the enrichment of his mind and the enhancement of his preaching. The age in which he lived was not one of general erudition but was one in which people lived more largely in their emotions. Beyond doubt much of Bidlack's effectiveness was due to the fact that he was a man of deep feelings and a man of the times speaking to men and women of his times. Moreover, he was qualified with spiritual insights and was gifted in prayer.

After Bidlack's retirement in 1819 he resided in Kingston where he had married for his second wife the widow of Lawrence Myers. Because of his known sympathetic nature he was often called upon to speak at funeral services. It was presumably after seeing and hearing him on one of these occasions that Marmaduke Pearce drew a sketch of the venerable preacher, a cut of which appears in Peck's "Wyoming."<sup>27</sup> He is depicted as standing back of a chair and wearing glasses. One foot is on a round of the chair and his left hand is clasping the top of the chair post.

About 1825 Bidlack delivered in Wilkes-Barre the Fourth of July address to survivors of the Revolution and many others, making it a notable event. In that year the old hero was the center of an unforgettable scene that took place at a camp meeting near Trucksville, which is described by Dr. Peck who personally knew the gentleman. With a vivid phraseology that more suitably conveyed the religious concepts of the earlier part of the nineteenth century than those of this technological and prosaic age the preacher-historian gives us a word picture of the incident. Thus he wrote:

"The saving power was eminently present from the very commencement to the close of the meeting. The first service was crowned with the conversion of souls; and while the tents were being taken down, and the people were dispersing, scores were engaged in prayer before the stand, and more than a score were earnestly seeking salvation. At a particular stage of the meeting Father Bidlack became almost entranced. Many of his neighbors and acquaintances, young and old, had been converted, and the work was rushing on with the power and sublimity of a tornado. The veteran soldier of the Cross had won so many battles, and now seeing the Cross waving in triumph over such masses, with a prospect of still moving on in its conquests indefinitely, he felt it was fit occasion for exultation. With staff in his hand he moved out of his tent, and walked across the ground, apparently unconscious of the presence of any human being, shouting aloud, 'Glory to God! Glory to God in the highest!' The noise of prayer and praise arising from hundreds, seemed for the moment to settle down to a murmur; all listening with unspeakable pleasure to the solemn thundering tones of praise and triumph of the old hero of the Cross. Tears flowed, hearts throbbed, then again burst forth a volley of praise from the multitude, which almost made the foundations of the neighboring mountains tremble. It was a solemn, a glorious, a holy and a heavenly scene; such a scene as we scarcely hope to witness again upon this earth. O, it was a green spot in the history of many, very many, either now living on earth or glorified in heaven; it was a scene worth crossing oceans, worth a life of toil and suffering to witness."

The concluding period in the life of Benjamin Bidlack presents him as being in his second childhood, the subject of great suffering and the object of pity to his friends. His expressed desire to attend the session of the Oneida conference, of which he was then a member, was granted. The meeting was in Wilkes-Barre in the year 1843. On being presented to the bishop he took the latter's hand but was otherwise irresponsive. His faculties deadened, he could only stare. Cancer of the nose progressed until it terminated his days, his death occurring

Nov. 27, 1845, in the eightieth year of his life. In spite of his affliction he died as became a soldier Christian, with courage and calm.

Of Bidlack's year on the Wyoming circuit only one incident directly relating to him has been handed down. It may have been on the occasion of his first sermon in Wilkes-Barre that a woman of immoral character, who had followed the army, felt impelled to hear the converted soldier. Surely that day the preacher wielded "the sword of the Spirit" uncompromisingly, so that the woman was filled with remorse for her past sins and yielded herself to the challenge of the cross. This was the beginning of an upright life and of many years of Christian usefulness. One of Bidlack's colleagues, David Stevens, 28 is said to have been the first traveling preacher to visit the "Harris neighborhood."

As for Tioga in 1799 nothing is known in addition to the meagre data afforded by the General Minutes. John Leach came here from Northumberland where he had been the year before, and had as his associate David Dunham.<sup>29</sup> This man may have been a relative of Johnson Dunham who was at Tioga the previous year. David Dunham was at this time received on trial and was regularly advanced both in ordinations and in conference membership. However, his ministry was neither long nor continuous. Having traveled seven years, he took a year's location, preached three years more and then located permanently.

At the close of the conference year late in the spring of 1800 the church membership in Wyoming had advanced from 170 to 193, and in Tioga from 191 to 202. How many of the Tioga members were within Pennsylvania cannot be ascertained. Assuming that a little more than half of them were within the Commonwealth, or, say, 115, that yields the figure of 308 members. This would be 2% of the population<sup>30</sup> of the counties of Luzerne and Wayne which embraced at that time all of Northeastern Pennsylvania, the population of Luzerne being 12,839 and of Wayne, 2,562. This had been achieved in the thirteen years since the humble blacksmith began his evangelistic efforts, in spite of the many factors that had militated against the inculcation of the Methodist way of life. Inasmuch as only a very small section of this area had been involved in the promotional work it is obvious that the ratio of members to population would be appreciably higher along the Susquehanna river than elsewhere in the territory. Definite progress was being made, predictive of greater things to come.

## "OLD SHIP ZION"

For the year 1800 Wyoming and Tioga were again placed in separate districts, the latter being retained as one of ten circuits in the Albany district under the continued presiding eldership of William M'Lenahan, whereas Wyoming and Northumberland together with five other circuits stood in the Philadelphia district where Joseph Everett<sup>31</sup> was the presiding elder. This man in whose jurisdiction these circuits were put for this and the following year, left a life

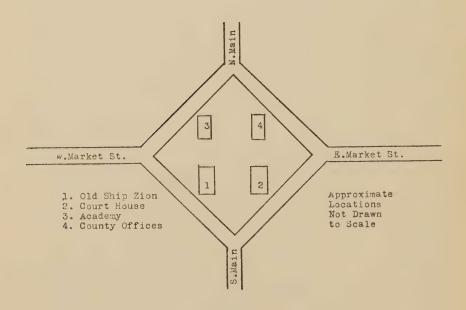
record that was unique in many respects. Born of Episcopal parents in 1732 his experiences were most varied within his life span of seventy-seven years. The earlier period of his life was one of vice and dissipation until he was past thirty years of age when he came under the influence of exponents of the New Light about the time that Whitefield was in America in 1763. After a long spiritual struggle Everett accepted the Christian way of life and united with the Presbyterian church. Falling again into evil ways and yet holding to Calvinistic tenets, he was in a deplorable condition mentally and spiritually. Though violently prejudiced against the Methodists he ventured to hear Bishop Asbury who was to speak at the home of a friend. This led to a radical change in his mind and heart such that he identified himself with the people whom he had despised and himself became a preacher of the doctrines he previously had condemned. He was at least forty-eight years of age when he began his ministry according to his memoir, or forty-nine according to definite records in the Minutes. Having completed two dozen years in the ministry, half of that time as a presiding elder, he retired in 1804. It was said of Joseph Everett that "wherever he traveled and labored he was a flame of fire."

For the conference year 1800-01 the membership on the Tioga circuit fell off from 202 to 136 for reasons that do not appear. To assume that the loss was due to an inefficient ministry would be unwarranted although Jacob Gruber<sup>32</sup> was the sole preacher in charge and this was his first year in the ministry. It might be added that he was only twenty-two years of age and was without training or experience. It might also be stated that though born in Pennsylvania he still had an accent acquired in the home of his German parents. He had entered the ministry with deep convictions and not as an adventurer. Having had a clear conversion under Methodist preaching when in his middle teens, he was finally driven from home on religious grounds by a Lutheran father. As he was trudging along the road he fell in with a Methodist preacher who, on being acquainted with his plight, advised him to preach the Gospel. This advice he followed forthwith and for fully half a century he pursued the life of an itinerant with the equipment of a strong physique and spiritual power. In addition to riding circuits he served important churches in Baltimore, Philadelphia and Washington, and for eleven years was the presiding elder of districts. His death occurred May 25, 1850, within a few weeks after his retirement.

Three preachers were placed in charge of the combined Wyoming and Northumberland circuit in 1800, namely, Ephraim Chambers, Edward Larkin and Asa Smith. Prior to this year when Smith<sup>33</sup> was received on trial his life rests in obscurity. His memoir states that "His constitution was hale, and as a minister he was often denominated a son of thunder." However he was able to give only twenty-eight years to the effective service, occasionally stepping aside as a supernumerary or even as a superannuate, in which relationship he was a

supply for five additional years. His last twelve years were marked by increasing weakness. Prior to his death in 1847 he had been afflicted with total blindness. Larkin<sup>34</sup> was admitted on trial the year before coming to this circuit, but continued in the active ministry only eleven years, taking a location in 1810. Chambers<sup>35</sup> had had eight years of experience before coming into this section but was credited finally with only fourteen years in the ministry as he located in 1806. He was a large man, had a powerful voice and gained the reputation of being an able preacher. At this period he appears to have been a man somewhat advanced in years and had gray hair. His ministry was not distinguished by many accessions this year but rather by strong sermons that attracted large audiences.

The year 1800 is historic in that it was the date of the erection of the first church<sup>36</sup> edifice in Wilkes-Barre. It was familiarly known as "Old Ship Zion," and was located on the southwesterly side of the public square. The structure was 45 by 65 feet in dimensions, stood some fifty feet back from the street, and had a tall steeple in which there ultimately was hung a bell weighing six hundred pounds, manufactured in Philadelphia. Though there may have been no



THE SQUARE IN WILKES-BARRE, PA.

Early in the 19th Century

specific understanding as to what group or groups were to use the building, apparently it was taken for granted that it was to be at the disposal of the various denominations. Hitherto they had held services in the courthouse which was also on the square. The new building ran into many difficulties both financial and theological. In addition to the fact it was a time when money was scarce it is probable that theological controversies and denominational jealousies made the monetary situation even more difficult. It is true that the Congregationalists, who in 1829 became Presbyterians, had been agitating for a new building for ten years, and that they constituted the largest denominational group. It may also be assumed that the total of their contributions exceeded those of any other body of church people. Yet financial support was solicited from the general public without any reference to denominational ties and without designating any particular part of the population as being the beneficiaries of the project. After the building was inclosed but was far from completion, Ephraim Chambers had occasion to conduct a funeral service in it. Thereupon some wag remarked, "That will be a Methodist church, you'll see." The prediction proved true in 1831 when the Methodists paid the Presbyterians \$1,000 to secure full rights in the property. Meanwhile the Episcopalians, who for a time had shared in the use of the building, had withdrawn and built a house of their own.

Prior to the adjustments that have been mentioned the "Old Ship Zion" had had a very sketchy history. Projected in 1800 and presently inclosed, it was not finished till 1812. During that period resort was made to varied and unique financial expedients. The initial funds came from the sale of the old ferry-house. To these funds were added personal contributions. There not being more than forty-five families in Wilkes-Barre as late as 1795 the givers could not have been many. After a lottery had proved a miserable failure, recourse was again made to the prosaic method of seeking further subscriptions from the general public. The final incentive may be defined as that of superstitution rather than that of piety. For the desired results were obtained after the steeple had been struck by lightning for the third time, which some considered an omen of the Divine displeasure on account of the neglect of the house of God!

The cooperative use of the church worked out amicably for a while. In course of time, however, the relations between the denominations developed friction. After the Congregationalists had paid the Episcopalians for their equity in the property the former began to insist upon exclusive rights in the building. The Methodists were equally determined to maintain their rights on the grounds that they had contributed toward the erection of the edifice and that it was a community project. An open clash took place in 1824 when Morgan Sherman in the third year of his ministry and Joseph Castle in his second year were the preachers in charge of the Wyoming circuit in which Wilkes-Barre was still an

appointment. The Congregationalists locked the church door against the Methodists and kept the keys, refusing even to confer in the matter. The successive moves are given by Pearce:

"At length the followers of Wesley assembled in the court house, and resolved to enter the church at all hazards. They, accordingly, with the approval of their pastor, the Rev. Morgan Sherman, appointed Joseph Slocum, Abraham Thomas, David Collings, and others, a committee to storm the Lord's house. Mr. Slocum forced the windows with a crowbar, and Mr. Thomas, like Samson at Gaza, lifted the door from its hinges. The people entered the building, and, by direction of James McClintock, Esq., attorney for the Methodists, broke the locks from the pulpit and pew doors. Mr. Sherman then approached the sacred desk, and commenced religious worship by giving out the hymn commencing,

'Equip me for the war, And teach my hands to fight.'

"In his opening prayer the minister thanked the Lord for many things, but particularly that they could 'worship under their own vine and fig tree, few daring to molest, and none to make them afraid.' At the close of his discourse Mr. Sherman said, 'With the permission of Divine Providence, I will preach in this house again in two weeks from today.' Whereupon Oristus Collins, Esq., arose and said, 'at that time this church will be occupied by another congregation.' Mr. Sherman repeated his notice, and Mr. Collins repeated his reply, after which the benediction was pronounced, and the congregation quietly dispersed.

"On another occasion the Methodists entered the church on Sunday morning in advance of the Presbyterians. [Until a few years previously the Presbyterians had been Congregationalists.] Just as the Rev. Benjamin Bidlack [now retired and living in Kingston], was about giving out the first hymn, Matthias Hollenback, Esq., accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Tracy, a Presbyterian clergyman, entered the house, and walking a few steps up the aisle thus addressed the preacher, What are you doing here?' 'Page 144, short meter,' said Mr. Bidlack. 'What is that you say?' inquird Mr. Hallenback. 'I say, page 144, short meter,' was the reply. Whereupon Mr. Hallenback and the Rev. Mr. Tracy retired from the church, while Mr. Bidlack proceeded with the religious exercises."

On March 8, 1827, during the pastorate of George Peck<sup>37</sup> and his associate, Philo Barbary, the Methodists signed a lease with the county commissioners for the use of the upper story of the court house for ten years at the nominal rental of ten cents per year. In 1831, as previously stated, they bought the equity of the Presbyterians in the Old Ship Zion for \$1,000, and possessed the building thereafter in absolute right.

## DENOMINATIONAL INTEGRATION—PREACHERS IN CHARGE, 1801-02

In the earlier years the work in Northeastern Pennsylvania was more or less isolated from the rest of Methodism in America. This was due to two factors, the first being its geographical position, and the second the lack of integration of the entire church. The Wyoming country was on the periphery of the whole

movement and not upon any direct line that connected the various elements. Both of the circuits in this section appeared as appendages rather than as parts of a whole. They were the branches of a tree whose trunk was along the Atlantic seaboard. Or, to change the figure, even after the beginning of the nineteenth century they were for a few years tossed about as footballs in the general scheme of things. This situation was inevitable where there was a lack of organization and coordination. Fundamentally Methodism was an evangelistic movement in which the details of organization had secondary consideration. However weak it may have been numerically it marched forward as an army, and after taking certain objectives, required time to consolidate its advances. It had the preliminary blueprints of an ecclesiastical system but in its primary stage it depended for its unity very largely upon the personality of one man, Francis Asbury, who in turn operated through other personalities such as presiding elders and circuit riders. Naturally as the work progressed and the societies and circuits multiplied, filling in the wide spaces formerly separating them, it became necessary to effect a more complete organization. It was not till these results had been achieved that Methodism in Northeastern Pennsylvania was truly integrated with the church as a whole. The adaptation of the church, which Wesley had fostered, to the peculiar and growing needs of the New World has been discussed in a previous section wherein the American system was treated. The relation of the Wyoming country to all of this and to the church at large came more fully into view as the nineteenth century progressed.

In order to trace the relationship referred to in the foregoing paragraph it is necessary first of all to re-examine certain historical developments already mentioned and then to proceed with the unfolding record. It is quite clear that the first two preachers to invade Wyoming came from the Newburgh circuit and that they were identified with the conferences<sup>38</sup> meeting in New York in 1789 and 1790 respectively. It is equally certain that James Campbell, the first preacher officially appointed to Wyoming, was sent there from the conference that met in the same place in 1791, inasmuch as Wyoming was listed in the same group in which appeared Newburgh, New York, etc. The same is to be said both of Wyoming and of Tioga in 1792. However, with the advent of Colbert and Thomas into this section late in that year these two circuits were blended with others served from Baltimore in 1793, from which conference it is known that both of these men came. For 1794 the available evidence is not conclusive but appears to point in the direction of Philadelphia as the seat of the conference at which Paynter received his appointment to Wyoming and Moore to Tioga, though the two circuits were in separate groups. On the basis of association with other charges and in the light of the emergence of the names of conferences tentatively listed in 1801 it is probable that these two circuits were served in 1795 and for some years thereafter from the conferences held in Philadelphia, or the one held in Duck Creek, which in 1800 was substituted for Philadelphia as a meeting place. In 1804 Wyoming was in the Susquehanna district of the Baltimore conference, and Tioga in the Genesee district of the Philadelphia conference. During the next three years they were both in the Susquehanna district of the Baltimore conference. In 1808 and 1809 this district, including the two charges, was in the Philadelphia conference, but passed into the Genesee conference when it was organized in 1810.

With the first naming of districts in 1801 Wyoming<sup>39</sup> appeared in the Philadelphia district but was detached from Northumberland, Joseph Everett continuing as the presiding elder. Ephraim Chambers, who was one of the three preachers on the united circuits the previous year, was assigned to Wyoming, and had as his associate Anning Owen who proved to be a valued helper in the expanding work. Chambers, 40 who by common consent was called "The Great Gun of the Gospel," witnessed a most successful year, evidently profiting from the foundations he had helped to lay in the preceding year. Owen, too, shared in all of this, reaping a harvest from the good seed he had scattered in years gone by. Conspicuous among the achievements was the great revival that was experienced at (Jacob's) Plains where many conversions were reported. Notably one of the converts was Roger Searle<sup>41</sup> who twenty-three years before as a lad had escaped with Anning Owen and Benjamin Carpenter from the Battle of Wyoming. Very likely Owen collaborated in winning Searle who now was in the prime of life. At his own request Searle was baptized by immersion, a hole having been cut through the ice for the purpose. This spectacle was almost as great a novelty in that day as it would be today. Besides the results of the labors at Plains, mention should be made of two new classes<sup>42</sup> that were formed. One of these was at Fancher's on the Tunkhannock, the other being at Brooklyn, 43 Pa., which was then known as Hopbottom. The latter class ultimately attained considerable prominence, although only four persons constituted its original membership, namely, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Tewksbury, Silas Lewis and Mrs. Joshua Saunders.

It must have been with mingled emotions that Anning Owen<sup>44</sup> after six years in the itinerancy was asked to share with Chambers the unforgettable scenes of earlier times. More than two dozen years before this he had taken up his residence in Wyoming. More than a score of years had passed since his narrow escape from the Massacre, and more than a dozen years since he had set up his shop as a smithy and had begun to evangelize his neighbors in this very section. A decade had elapsed since he first received a local preacher's license, which was the first step in exercising the wider authority that he now enjoyed as one of the preachers in charge of a circuit.

Owen's career in the itinerancy covered eighteen years of hardships such as

were common to the circuit riders of his time. The preaching places on many of his circuits were numerous, far apart and reached only by travel over crude roads or narrow bridle paths. For his services he received only a pittance, as was true of others. But the conditions of his ministry were much more difficult than were those of the average among his contemporaries. Whereas most of the Methodist preachers of his time were young and unmarried, Owen was married and far from young. When he was appointed to Wyoming he was about fortynine years of age and had a family consisting of a wife, one son and at least two daughters. Of necessity he was away from his family much of the time for many years. It would have been impossible for them to travel about with him. The fact that they had a humble home in Kingston in addition to the other fact that there were no parsonages on the various circuits answered the question as to where they should live. In the midst of his ministry there came two great sorrows into his life. One was in the death of his only son Benjamin whose funeral sermon he preached. The other was in the death of his beloved daughter Sally. Hearing of her serious illness, he hastened home only to find that she had already passed away. In a most affecting scene he preached her funeral sermon, not as an unfeeling father but as one whose saddened heart was sustained by the comforting assurance of the Gospel of his Christ.

It did help in the maintenance of the home ties for Owen to be stationed at Wyoming in 1801, and at nearby Northumberland the following year. It did help also when in 1805, '06 and '07 he served as the presiding elder of the Susquehanna district which included Wyoming. Prior to 1810 his appointments, both in Pennsylvania and in New York, were in the Philadelphia conference. When in that year the Genesee conference was constituted he found himself within its bounds. For the three ensuing years he served successively the Cayuga, the Seneca and the New Amsterdam circuits. Following his appointment to Cayuga he moved his family to Ulysses, Tompkins Co., N. Y., so they might be near him. In 1812 he was one of the six delegates 45 from the Genesee to the General Conference. The development of physical disabilities caused him to accept the supernumerary relation in 1813. In April of the following year he died "of the prevailing epidemic," which is not otherwise defined. His wife also died about twelve hours after his decease, presumably from the same malady. So passed in his sixty-third year the man to whom more than to any other individual belongs the honor of introducing Methodism into Northeastern Pennsylvania. He also was one of the first and foremost promoters of the church in Central New York.

Owen was a man above the average in height, strong of body, with a dark complexion and piercing eyes. His sturdiness of body and mind matched the difficulties and hardships of the times. Among the rough and ready people of the day he was always able to give a good account of himself, proving himself resourceful under whatever exigencies might arise. Great in faith, strong in prayer, adroit in the face of opposition, witty at times, powerful in voice, he prevailed by sheer force of character. On the one hand he mercilessly reproved sin and wickedness, and on the other pleaded with his hearers to maintain right-eousness. Living in a time of acrimonious doctrinal controversies he stoutly upheld the Arminian position in distinction from the prevalent Calvinism. Profoundly convinced that he was an instrument of God and that the Gospel he preached was man's only hope, he spoke with utter abandon and absolute fear-lessness. If in preaching he seemed to prefer the rougher tools of hammer and tongs, it was due partly to the period in which he lived, partly to his lack of formal education, and partly to the vocation of his earlier life.

Like many other strong personages Owen had his eccentricities which together with himself became a legend. A few instances will serve to illustrate this statement. On one occasion he made a public assault upon a prominent man in Wayne county. The man happened to be a Presbyterian, and a land agent. Criticising land-jobbers in general, of whom there were many in those days, Owen said they were "like a land-jobber of old, who offered to give away all the kingdoms of the earth, when the poor devil had not a foot in the world." The gentleman was patient under the attack until the speaker began vehemently to criticize the Presbyterians, when he arose, saying, "It is too bad, and I cannot endure it." "Sit down, sir!" roared the preacher. The perturbed listener complied for a few minutes until a further attack was made, whereupon he exclaimed, "I won't endure such insults. To be called an eagle-eyed Presbyterian and a blue-skin by you, sir, is more than I will put up with!" "If you are not silent until I get through, sir," cried Owen, "I will complain of you to a magistrate and have you taken care of." The gentleman sat down again, considering discretion to be the better part of valor.

Anson Goodrich, of Salem, now Hamlin, Wayne county, is the authority for another instance. Said he:

"Father Owen was a zealous, good man, very eccentric, and at times quite eloquent. I never listened to a man who would excel him in preaching the terrors of the law against the workers of iniquity. In the winter of 1806 I was sent to school in Wilkes-Barre. A quarterly meeting was held in the courthouse. On Saturday evening there was a ball held at a public house, so near that the sound of the violin could be distinctly heard. The old gentleman prayed most fervently that the Lord would 'shake the company over hell, and put a stop to that hog-gut and horsehair squeaking.' The next morning when he was preaching from the text, 'He that believeth not shall be damned,' the boys put some brimstone under the backlog in the south fireplace, and were waiting on tiptoe to see the result. When the effluvia was perceptible by the knowing ones, the preacher exclaimed with a voice like thunder, 'Unless you repent and are converted you will all be damned!' And with his strong voice raised to its highest pitch, and with a stamp of his foot on the floor, and bringing his fist down upon the judge's desk, he roared out, 'Sinners, don't you smell hell?'"

On a certain date Owen was late in arriving at his appointment at the Sutton home. Hurrying through the song and prayer, he opened the large family Bible which was on the stand, took as his text the first passage that met his eyes, and delivered a discourse. After the meeting Mrs. Sutton asked, "Brother Owen, how came you to take your text from the Apochrypha today?" He exclaimed in surprise, "Apochrypha! the book of Ezra is not in the Apochrypha." "No, indeed," was the response, "but you took your text from the first book of Esdras." In amazement Owen replied, "Did I, indeed? Well, sister, say nothing about it; the people will not know the difference."

Rarely did Owen allow an opportunity to pass by for the discussion of religion. On one of his journeys he fell in with another traveler, who, like himself, was riding horseback. The stranger proving to be a skeptic, Owen by earnest argument endeavored to convince his companion of the validity of revealed religion. The argument itself appeared to have no effect. But when the two came to a fork in the road and the parting of their ways, the preacher, with a sense of frustration, hurriedly turned and called out, "See here, my friend, I have two more things to say to you, which I wish you not to forget." "What are they?" was the inquiry. Instantly the answer was, "Hell is hot and eternity is long!" After several years had passed by and the talk with this particular man had passed from Owen's mind, he was holding a meeting in a certain place when a gentleman came up to him after the service and asked the speaker if he remembered their conversation on the previous occasion. Reminding Owen of his parting admonition, the man declared, "Those two things which you wished me not to forget fastened themselves upon my mind, and I never got rid of them until I sought and found the Savior." Having now been a member of the Methodist church for many years, he had had a desire to meet again the man who had drawn his bow at a venture and had shot a shaft that had lodged in his heart. Not till now did he know who Owen was or where he could be found. Throughout his manhood Anning Owen proved true to the vow he had made when as a young man he had met God upon the field of battle in Wyoming.

While Chambers and Owen were toiling on the Wyoming circuit in 1801 their neighboring preachers to the north were Gideon A. Knowlton and Moses Morgan whose extensive circuit was listed as Tioga and Unadilla. Their charge comprehended great areas and not merely the localities suggested by the name. Out from this inclusive territory in later years were developed many strong churches and a numerous Methodist membership. Only in this and the following year was Unadilla mentioned in the Minutes. However, this was the fourth of five successive years in which Tioga pointed toward Albany as the head of the district in which it was situated. It was the third and last year of M'Lenahan's term as presiding elder in this field. Knowlton, the senior preacher on the circuit, had been admitted to conference membership on trial the previous

year when in the prime of life. Only ten full years of ministerial service were permitted to this earnest man who at the age of fifty-one died on Aug. 15, 1810, after a brief illness and within less than a month following his appointment to Mexico, N. Y., within the newly formed Genesee conference. Morgan entered the ministry the year he came to this charge but went elsewhere the following year, after which his name disappears from the records. The church membership at Tioga, exclusive of Unadilla, for the year 1801-2 jumped from 136 to 185. Meantime the membership on the Wyoming circuit passed from 191 to 315.

# VI. Expansion

#### COLBERT'S LAST CONTACTS

HITHERTO THE GROWTH OF METHODISM in Northeastern Pennsylvania had been chiefly along the Susquehanna river with tentative activities along some of its tributaries such as the Lackawanna river and the Wyalusing creek. It was natural for the itinerants to concentrate their services in the localities where people were to be found. With the influx of more settlers and with the movement of the population inland from the arteries of travel they went farther into the interior and sought out the remotest dwellers. This development of the work became increasingly noticeable within the half dozen years from 1802. In this year¹ Wyoming and Tioga were both within the newly named Philadelphia conference. The Tioga-Unadilla circuit was in the Albany district under the presiding eldership of William Colbert who had ten charges, whereas Wyoming was one of eleven charges in the Philadehia district whose presiding elder was Thomas Ware. This was the third time that he had held this position over one or both of these circuits, and was his twentieth year in the ministry.

Of the preachers on these two circuits for the year 1802-03 the record is brief. Joseph Osborn<sup>2</sup> and Sharon Booth<sup>3</sup> were in charge of Tioga-Unadilla. The latter was received on trial this year, preached elsewhere the following year and then disappeared from the records. Osborn was admitted to conference two years earlier, took a superannuated relation in 1806 because of ill health, returned to effective service in 1810, became supernumerary in 1823, again superannuated eleven years later, and died in 1835, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Throughout his ministry his relation was with the Philadelphia conference. At Wyoming were Ephraim Chambers and William Brandon, Reference has already been made to the former who was in 1802 serving his third year in this section. Although this valuable man put fully fourteen years of his life into the Methodist ministry no memoir of him was included in the General Minutes for the reason that he took a location in 1806. As for Brandon, who was admitted in 1801, it is to be regretted that after only four years in the ministry, three of which were in the Philadelphia conference and one in the Baltimore, he was expelled from conference membership.

The conference<sup>4</sup> assembled in Philadelphia on Saturday, May first, 1802, and adjourned the following Thursday. During the ensuing year Colbert included Tioga in his itinerary of the Albany district on two occasions. On the first visit he arrived from Horseheads, N. Y., coming to Curry's on Queen Esther's Flats, across the Chemung from Athens, Thursday, July 29. The next morning

he rode to Elisha Cole's, and in the afternoon walked to the home of David Downing whom he had known in Delaware. To his regret he found that the family had suffered great hardships instead of enjoying the prosperity they had anticipated when they moved here five years earlier. Especially was he pained to find that Mrs. Downing who was accustomed to refinements was ill and was obliged to lie in a miserable bed in a poor cabin on the Susquehanna. Aside from the roads Colbert could not discover that the country had improved since he first came into these parts ten years before.

After passing the night at Cole's Colbert on Saturday began a quarterly meeting service in which he was assisted by Osborn and Booth, and by one Williams who is not otherwise identified. The meeting, which was remarkable in some respects, was held in Tabor's barn in Towanda, where Colbert used Col. 2:6 as his text. In the evening an enjoyable prayermeeting was held in the Downing home, after which Colbert and Osborn lodged at Cole's. Filling in from the Journal we read:

"Sunday, August 1. This morning the Lord favored us with a shower both of rain and of the Spirit. Several were brought to their knees, and cried for mercy, in the love feast. I thought it a pity we could not continue praying with them, on account of the preaching at eleven o'clock.

However, so concerned were they that they retired to the woods, and spent some time on their knees on the damp ground in prayer to God. Nevertheless Colbert carried out the schedule for the day, preaching from Luke 16:9 and baptizing Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Aikins as well as several children. Later in the day the party was overtaken by a severe thunderstorm as they passed over the mountain to the home of Capt. Benjamin Clark in Ulster, where in former days Colbert had occasionally preached. To the presiding elder the storm was one of "terror and delight." In Ulster he found that sickness and death were prevalent at this time. On Monday the preachers rode to Mineer's on the Flats, where they had refreshments and offered prayer. They also dined and had prayer at Benjamin Aikin's, going thence to Owego and elsewhere on his district.

Colbert's second visit this year to Tioga began on Thursday, Dec. 30, when he and Sharon Booth arrived at the home of Daniel Meniger, or Mineer, who lived near the state line. The next day these three went to Campbell's, on Sugar Creek, a stream that empties into the Susquehanna at North Towanda. The quarterly meeting opened on Saturday when the presiding elder preached from Mat. 7:21, a favorite text of his, and was followed in exhortation by the two preachers of the circuit, Booth and Osborn, as well as by two laymen. That night Colbert and others lodged at Stephen Ballard's in Ulster. Following the Sunday morning love feast the presiding elder discoursed on "Sanctification," basing his message on Heb. 12:14, the exhortation being by Williams. After an interpretation of the meaning of the sacrament by Elisha Cole the Lord's Supper was administered.

That night the Ballard home afforded hospitality to members of the party. On Monday morning, Jan. 3, 1803, a cold ride was endured as they went to Mineer's where dinner was served. Thence going to Athens, Colbert set out on his return journey to Albany.

There is on file in the archives of the Wyoming Conference Historical Society, Kingston, Pa., the stewards' book<sup>5</sup> of the old Wyoming circuit, dating back to the closing quarterly meeting for the year 1802-03. This valuable survival of the early days was presented July 18, 1941, by "Miss Stella G. Wadhams and Ralph H. Wadhams, Esq., great grandchildren of Calvin Wadhams, deceased, grandchildren of Samuel C. Wadhams, deceased, and only surviving children of Elijah C. Wadhams, deceased." The forebears of these donors have been mentioned in another connection. The stewards' book, which fortunately had been retained in the Wadhams family for nearly a century and a half, contains records of the quarterly meetings from March, 1803, to March 1810, with the exception of the spring and fall meetings of 1809, for which space was left. The only data afforded by the book are the dates and the places of meetings, the amounts paid to the ministers, and six marriages, four of which were performed by Ashbel Waller and two by Morris Howe. The entries are in ink and are very legible, though there are many errors in spelling and in computations. The cover is paper-board with leather back and corner tips. The front inside page has the heading: "Stewards Book for Wioming surket." The names of four stewards follow, with lines drawn through them:

Moses Waddams dc.. ..... (Wadhams, deceased)
Below this list are the names of the stewards who were active later: Darius
Williams, Calvin Wadhams, Solomon Chapin.

The first meeting recorded was held on Ross Hill, Saturday and Sunday, March 26 and 27, 1803, and was for the fourth quarter. The following payments were received from the various classes of the circuit: Wilkes-Barre, \$1.70½; Pittston, \$.50; Providence, \$.40; Little Beech Woods, ..........; Big Beech Woods, ..........; Stanton's Settlement, ..........; Tunkhannock Creek, ..........; Atherton's, .........; Exeter, \$1.11; Kingston, \$4.37½; Carver's, \$1.37; Ross Hill, \$2.02; Plymouth, \$2.50; Briar Creek, \$.50; Salem, ..........; Newport, \$3.48; Nanticoke, \$1.58; public collection, \$10.46; public collection, \$3.38. The total for the quarter was \$36.31½. The disbursements were: Ephraim Chambers, expenses, \$3.00; quarterage, \$9.10, \$1.13; William Brandon, expenses, \$2.25; quarterage, \$18.20, \$2.25, a grand total of \$35.93. From the figures of receipts for this and succeeding years one may rightly conclude that Wilkes-Barre, in spite of its being the county seat, was one of the weaker points of the circuit.

There is more than one reason for this fact. In the first place Methodism from the first developed more largely in the country and smaller towns. Historically it has been the church of the open country. It is equally historic that the approach to the centers of population and power has been from the countryside which often has furnished both members for churches and leaders for communities. As for Wilkes-Barre it may also be observed that several of the prominent citizens of that day were agnostic and violently opposed to Methodism, as has already been stated.

The old steward's book has this added interest to-day in that it throws light, hiterto lacking, on the territory included within the oldest circuit in Northeastern Pennsylvania. The names of about half of the preaching places are readily recognized as having appeared in the records thus far given. Most of the others are not difficult to locate, Little Beech Woods<sup>7</sup> was near Brooklyn, probably Springville. Big Beech Woods8 was near Hamlin, originally a part of Canaan township in Wayne county, a region famous for its beeches. As to Stanton Settlement there is uncertainty. The meeting place on the Tunkhannock was at Fancher's,9 a spot not now identified. Atherton lived in the town of Exeter. The other Exeter point presumably was at James Sutton's, 10 for at this time he was living on the creek that bears his name. Salem and Briar Creek were down the river from Plymouth, and though the former is within Luzerne county, and both belonged at that time to the Wyoming circuit, they are not included within the limits of that part of the Commonwealth now under consideration. However, in the early days both of these places had a vital relationship to the development of Methodism along the Susquehanna, being on the border line between the Wyoming and Northumberland circuits. Obviously the preachers in charge visited all of these places. It was at Briar Creek<sup>11</sup> there lived two brothers who were among the outstanding Methodists of the region, Christian and Thomas Bowman, whose homes were often the stopping places of circuit riders, as well as sanctuaries for worship. The latter's grandson became Bishop Bowman of the Methodist Episcopal church.

### COLBERT'S LAST CONTACTS, CONCLUDED

The Philadelphia conference<sup>12</sup> assembled at Duck Creek, Md., Sunday, May 1, 1803, but did not begin its deliberations until the next day. At this time the membership report given for the preceeding year showed 300 enrolled at Wyoming and 150 at Tioga. The two circuits were again placed in the same conference though in different districts. These districts, the Susquehanna and the Genesee, presented new names that were to persist for many years. Wyoming was one of six circuits in the Susquehanna district whose presiding elder was James Smith,<sup>13</sup> the young Irish circuit rider whom Colbert accompanied into the lake country when the former in 1793 began his ministry as the preacher in charge of the Seneca Lake circuit. This man became a prominent member of the Philadel-

phia conference in which he served twenty-eight years in the effective ranks, eleven of which were as a presiding elder. In 1822 he took the supernumerary relation, and thereafter served as a supply at times. However, in 1839 his career in the ministry terminated with an inglorious expulsion from the conference. Meantime his son James Smith, Jr., sometimes listed as "James Smith of Delaware," in distinction from a third minister of the same name, "James Smith, of Baltimore," entered service in 1811 and in the course of time gained distinction. While the senior Smith was on the Susquehanna district he was both popular and effective. An amusing incident occurred in connection with his first quarterly meeting on the Wyoming circuit. Belatedly he arrived at the meeting which was being held in a barn. Coming to the Coleman home in Plymouth, he asked a little girl, the only person present, if the meeting was being held. To the stranger she replied: "Yes, sir. But it will be of no use for you to go, for they do not let sinners in." In those days only certified Christians were admitted to the love feast. For this purpose tickets were used.

The preachers<sup>14</sup> appointed to the Wyoming circuit this year were James Polhemus and Hugh McCurdy. The former entered the ministry in 1801 and continued in the effective relation for sixteen years. The Minutes of 1828 report his death but explain that no memoir had been received. During the last years of his life he fluctuated between being a superannuate and being a supernumerary, in which latter case he served as a supply. His record in Wyoming was that of an evangelist whose exhortations were most compelling. His labors on the Plains were especially fruitful, his converts including such men as Crandall Wilcox, Nathaniel Crandall and others. As for McCurdy, his ministry both here and in its entirety was brief. Unfortunately he was not of the fibre required by the frontier. A Philadelphian, he became "homesick" according to his contemporaries, and left his charge in the middle of the year. Having been received on trial the previous year, he had been stationed at Caroline. But when he ceased at Wyoming he ceased for good. The old stewards' book15 shows that McCurdy had received "quarterage" twice, and also reveals that the reminder of his year was filled by Thomas Dunn<sup>16</sup> who was received into conference the following year. Dunn, however, evidently found it about as difficult to adjust himself to the back country as did his predecessor, for he located after ten years as a circuit rider. By way of illustration of the fact that he was anything but a native among the frontiersmen an incident is related of his visit to one of the remoter appointments, on which occasion he lodged at the Tewksbury home in Brooklyn. Observing a large bowl of mush on the table, he asked his host, "How do you eat that?" If this was a priggish question, it received a reply well designed to remove all conceit. "With your fork," Mr. Tewksbury responded with a dry humor that could have been matched again and again by his colleagues of the countryside.

The stewards' book for 1803-04 gives records of the finances for the first, third and fourth quarters, but explains that the minutes for the second quarter were lost. It is noted, however, that "the several societies paid to the stewards money which (was) paid to the preachers." If the amounts paid the second quarter averaged with the other three, even then the total paid to the presiding elder and the two preachers for expenses and support for the entire year would be less than \$170.00! Preaching places not given in the previous list include: Hanover, Lackawanna, and Kelleck's Settlement, besides Huntington and Hunlock's, the last two being in the Salem-Briar Creek section.

In the year now under consideration Tioga was in a new line-up of eleven circuits in the newly formed Genesee district<sup>17</sup> under the presiding eldership of William Colbert. The preachers of the circuit were James Herron, 18 Samuel Budd<sup>19</sup> and J. P. Weaver.<sup>20</sup> The last named was received on trial this year, Budd the previous year and Herron in 1788. Budd and Herron located 1814 and Weaver a year later. As might be expected Colbert's Journal mentions the men of his district and the place he visited, revealing that much of Tioga circuit was in New York. Some of the charges of the Albany district of 1802 were now in the new district which he was serving. From his extensive and varied responsibilities in the expanding empire that touched upon Tioga from the north and from the south he was familiar with the developments that had taken place. He now recognized, in contrast to his observation the previous year, that there had been a remarkable advance in population, church membership, housing conditions and the means of travel, especially as compared with what he found in parts of the area ten years earlier. This man whom Peck<sup>21</sup> called "the apostle of Methodism in this country" rejoiced to behold the changes that he noted and to realize that the religious movement which he represented was so largely responsible for the betterment of society and for the laying of foundations for institutions that would worthily serve this fertile area.

After the 1803 session of the conference Colbert was delayed by many things, including hardships in travel, so that he did not reach his new assignment till late in June. Approaching by way of New Jersey, he entered Pennsylvania at Milford, and followed the old Newburgh and Great Bend route, arriving in the latter place at the home of Putnam Catlin<sup>22</sup> late on Friday, June 24. The Catlins were old friends of Colbert and had entertained him in their home a decade earlier when they were living in Wilkes-Barre. Now in the prime of life they continued to reside in Great Bend for many years during which their home afforded generous hospitality to many itinerants. Catlin himself was fond of display whereas his wife was modesty itself as became the daughter of Quaker parentage. After a day of much needed rest Colbert preached on Sunday in a school house, his forenoon and afternoon texts being John 13:17 and Mat. 12:43-45. Monday he set out for various points, including Unadilla, which

recently was one of the appointments on the Tioga charge though no longer so listed in the Minutes. On Monday, Jan, 2, 1804, Colbert between engagements again reached Catlin's, but only to remain over night. After traveling about his district he appeared<sup>23</sup> again in that part of the circuit that lay within Pennsylvania, arriving on Friday, Feb. 24, at Athens where he found a letter stating that his father was improved in health. It having been more than three months since he had heard from home he feared that he might hear of his father's death. The latter, however, survived for ten more years.

After sharing the hospitality of Daniel Mineer, Colbert on Saturday began a quarterly meeting on Sugar Creek where Elisha Cole preached from Ps. 126:1-3. Among others who took part on this occasion were James Herron, one of the preachers on the charge, and John B. Hudson, presumably a local preacher. In his Journal the presiding elder reveals how greatly disturbed he was by the course taken by one of the other preachers of the circuit, Samuel Budd. This man had earlier given evidence of his fidelity and willingness to cooperate. But Colbert's favorable impression was dashed when he learned that since the third quarterly meeting of the year Budd had courted a young woman who had joined the society since he had come onto the circuit, had suddenly married her, and had gone to New Jersey, abandoning his work. Colbert recorded his conviction that such men were a disgrace to the ministry and that he would expect the curse of God to follow men who "leave the work of God for the sake of a woman!" It is true there was some warrant for this gratuitous generalization. Yet it was a statement which the writer would have reason to revise radically within a twelvemonth. Whether a minister should marry or not was a matter which he must decide for himself. The recognized incompatibility between domestic life and the itinerant ministry caused most men to take a location after they were married. The one notable instance of a minister who deliberately chose the celibate life was Francis Asbury who for the sake of the work to which he considered himself divinely called declined to entertain any thought of marriage.

Within the same period in which Colbert<sup>24</sup> passed judgment upon Budd he registered in his Journal his abiding purpose not to marry. It is, however, one of the ironies of dogmatic utterances that they often come back to plague those who make them. So it proved in his case. For, having met Miss Elizabeth Stroud, of Stroudsburg, Pa., at a quarterly meeting held in that place on July 14 and 15, 1804, they were united in marriage<sup>25</sup> on the first day of the ensuing November. On the face of it this may have been an instance of "love at first sight." On the other hand it may be that his criticism of Samuel Budd was in reality an accusation against something within his subconscious self which he was stoically trying to suppress. It may have been an inner protest against the celibate life to which he had committed himself, a

concealed yearning for freedom to live the normal life of a man, even a Christian man. However much Colbert loved Elizabeth Stroud, there is no question but that he rationalized his adventure in matrimony, for on the day of his marriage he made this entry in his Journal, "And may this be to the glory of God, and the good of souls." Whether or not his prayer was answered in the way he desired, the records show that though he did accept appointments for a few years, some of them were rather nominal. Within seven years he had located. In fact his Journal informs us that he took this action as early as 1806.

In stepping aside from the effective ranks Colbert again rationalized. He recognized the disappointing and distressing experiences of the ministry. The hardships as well as what he considered the inequities of the itinerancy bore down heavily upon him. He felt, moreover, it was asking too much of a woman who had been reared under conditions of refinement to share in the adversities of a circuit rider. Colbert was well under fifty at the time of his location, and survived for more than a quarter of a century before his death in 1833. That the original urge to preach the Gospel had not forsaken him is indicated by the fact that in 1825 he renewed his effective relation with the Philadelphia conference, becoming a supernumerary. Thus for seven years he served as a supply pastor the Methodist Episcopal church in Stroudsburg where he lived, being its first resident minister. As for Samuel Budd whose marriage aroused Colbert's criticism, he did not locate till at least three years after Colbert did!

The Sunday services on Sugar Creek concluded the quarterly meeting and brought to a close Colbert's last official duties on the Genesee district. As usual the day opened with a love feast which proved to be one of great spiritual power. After the sermon by the presiding elder, based on Col. 2:6, Weaver and Herron exhorted. That night at the request of "Mother Baldwin," he delivered a farewell discourse in the home of her granddaughter and husband, Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence, using as his text II Cor. 13:11.

Monday, accompanied by Herron, Weaver and Hudson, Colbert went to Campbell's on Sugar Creek, where they had dinner and prayed together before parting. He himself lodged at the home of Elisha Cole and on Tuesday preached from Ps. 84:11 in the home of Elisha's father Samuel Cole. His audience was larger than he had expected, many of the people appearing to be deeply affected. The next day he spent in the homes of Elisha Cole and David Downing, but was wearied when night came because of the earnest conversations with these old friends. Thursday, March 1st, was a characteristically bad day for traveling. However, Colbert managed to reach the tavern of John Hollenback in Wyalusing, where he recived better entertainment than at any other tavern in the North. He believed that this was explainable from the fact that Hollenback had come from Virginia where hospitality was proverbial. After lodging at Mason Alden's, Meshoppen, he lost his way and came upon the cabin of a colored man who was



"Old Ship Zion"

The First Church Erected in Wilkes-Barre (1800)



known as "Prince Perkins." As often was the experience there was no bread in the house. Nevertheless the woman, who seemed to be tidy, consented to make bread and get dinner for him. When leaving he had difficulty in persuading her to accept twenty-five cents for feeding him and his horse. He learned that she was a Baptist. After praying with the couple Colbert pushed his way along to Ashbel Atherton's in Exeter. There he was engaged in an unpleasant discussion by a Dr. Jackson who proved to be a Universalist. On Saturday he had a hard time going through the snow to the home of James Sutton who was now living in Exeter township.

On Sunday, March 4, Colbert went to Gilbert Carpenter's in time for the classmeeting. At night he preached at Benjamin Carpenter's from Mat. 12:43-45, and was pleased to discover indications that this man was renewing himself in respect to his religious life which had abated. Monday Colbert was at the home of Col. Dennison, preaching at night in the schoolhouse where he had often discoursed in earlier days. His text was Heb. 2:3. At Dennison's he had an unsatisfactory conversation with the colonel's son-in-law on the subject of Calvinism. Tuesday at Kingston in the home of Darius Williams he preached from Ps. 46:4, but concluded the society was not alive. Wednesday he dined and prayed in the home of 'Squire Pierce. At night at William George's, Wilkes-Barre, he used as a text Mark 4:28 and 29, and found an attentive company. It gratified him to discover that the Georges had come successfully through the five years since last he had seen them.

On the evening of Thursday the 8th Colbert preached in the Plymouth school house, his text being Luke 16:9. That night the hospitality of the Hodge home was extended to him. Mrs. Hodge had been one of the devoted helpers in this section when he had been on the Wyoming circuit. Her husband seemed to have a kindly heart but was ruining his life through drink. Going down the river the next day Colbert halted at Blanchard's, and then passed forever out of Northeastern Pennsylvania where he probably had done more than any other person before or since for the spread of the Gospel and the building of Methodism in that section.

It is not necessary to add many words to what has already been written or culled from the self-revealing Journal of William Colbert. His arduous toils, his unflagging devotion and his missionary zeal easily place him in the ranks of the best specimens of the practitioners and promoters of the Christian way of life. He was forever enriching others while he subsisted on the poorest fare. The best years of his life he gave to the advancement of the cause he loved, helping others to build true homes during years in which he had no place that he could call his own. Often he was discouraged by the apparent fruitlessness of his efforts, and frequently he chided himself for preaching sermons that were inadequate. Many hearers turned deaf ears to him or openly opposed his mes-

sage. Yet there were not a few who were in position to evaluate his labors and who affirmed that this quiet, unobtrusive man did an amazing piece of work and laid worthy foundations upon which successive generations have been able to rear an enduring and beautiful structure. Peck wrote of him: "Mr. Colbert was a good preacher, sound in doctrine, clear in method, plain and practical, cogent in reasoning, and earnest in appeal." A contemporary who knew him intimately, Henry Boehm, wrote of a tour which they took together in the Peninsula: "Brother Colbert preached at that time with efficiency. He moved the masses as the wind does the wheat in summer." Referring to Colbert's soullife in contrast to his physical appearence, the authority stated, "Colbert was a great little man in the days of his glory." Yet the only monument to this dedicated man in all the world is that which he himself reared. It is to be found in the churches which mark the trail of his travels and in the lives of the men and women who are the beneficiaries of his selfless service. He had no funds to leave for the erection of a memorial to himself, even if he had cared for such an object. For more than a century now the ashes of this good man, together with those of other members of his family, repose in an unmarked grave in the old Stroud cemetery, Stroudsburg. It is doubtful that he ever had a title to the plot of ground where his body was interred. It is certain that at this date no one can exactly locate the spot! In this respect it shares the distinction of another lonely grave that was "in a vale in the land of Moab."

The General Conference<sup>27</sup> of 1804 met May 7 in Baltimore. Of the twenty-nine delegates attending from the Baltimore Annual Conference three were ministers who served the Wyoming region, namely, Thorton Fleming, N. B. Mills and James Paynter. Of the forty-one from the Philadelphia Conference eight had labored in Northeastern Pennsylvania, namely, Anning Owen, Thomas Ware, Benjamin Bidlack, Wm. Colbert, James Smith, James Herron, Morris Howe and George Roberts. Freeborn Garrettson and James Campbell, who had ministered in the section, were among the twelve from the New York Conference.

## Ministers, Members, Movements—1804-05; 1805-06; 1806-07

In 1804-05<sup>28</sup> the Susquehanna district with the same list of circuits as in the preceding year and with the same presiding elder, James Smith, was changed from the Philadelphia to the Baltimore conference, whereas the Genesee district, now abbreviated as to the number of circuits, remained in the Philadelphia conference, and had for its presiding elder Joseph Jewell. This was Jewell's tenth year in the ministry and the first of a term of four years on this district. After his work on the district he became a supernumerary for one year, a superannuate for another year, and then located in 1810. Wyoming was in the Susquehanna district and had as its preachers Morris Howe<sup>29</sup> and Robert Burch.<sup>30</sup> with a membership of 446. The ministerial career of the former dates

from 1790 when he was received on trial and ends with his death at the age of seventy-four in 1843. Impaired health interrupted his service at intervals so that he was obliged to take the supernumerary relation more than once, and even to locate for a year or more at a time. The last twenty-two years of his life were as a superannuate. However, in spite of his physical drawbacks Howe gained a reputation as an excellent exhorter and as an effective evangelist. Burch was known for his Irish wit and sociability and was regarded as an able preacher. He was received on trial at this time and saw thirty-four years of active service, most of which was in the Baltimore conference. After being in the Genesee conference twenty-one years he transferred as a supernumerary to the East Genesee conference on its organization in 1848. Meantime he had served as a presiding elder, and, as in the case of Howe, sustained various relations to the conferences, including that of a location. Tioga in the Genesee district had 362 members and was served by John Billings and Parley Parker. Neither of these men remained in the ministry more than three or four years, either taking a location or disappearing from the records without trace.

For the first time in five years Wyoming<sup>31</sup> and Tioga in 1805 were again placed in the same district, the Susquehanna, in the Baltimore conference, where they continued for three years. Indeed they continued in the same district to 1827 when Tioga ceased to appear under that name. The Susquehanna district was in the Philadelphia conference in 1808 and 1809, but became a part of the Genesee conference when that conference was formed in 1810. Anning Owen began a three-year term on the Susquehanna district in 1805,32 the preachers at Wyoming being James Paynter and Joseph Carson. This was the former's second pastorate here. Carson, who entered conference this year, served a total of only seven years, all in the Baltimore conference, and then located in 1812. His ministry, though brief, gave promise of great usefulness. His evangelistic zeal contributed to the conversion of many people. Among these were Ann and Aner Carver, presumably the children of Samuel Carver, of Carverton, and Phoebe Alerton, all of whom were especially stirred by Carson's sermon based on the scripture quotation, "The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved." Said Miss Alerton, "If Brother Carson would preach that sermon all around the circuit, everybody would be converted." The reported membership at Wyoming this year was 476, a gain of 30.

At Tioga were Frederick Stier and Timothy Lee, for both of whom no information is available aside from what appears in the Minutes. Stier united with the Baltimore conference in 1802, was seven years later transferred to the Western conference, but returned to the Baltimore conference in 1813, and located in 1825. This was Lee's first year in the ministry. When the Genesee conference was formed in 1810 he found himself within its bounds. Two years later he located. The membership at Tioga remained stationary at 362.

At Wyoming in 180633 were Christopher Frye34 and Alfred Griffith, and at Tioga, Joseph Hays and Joel Smith. The ministerial carreer of the latter two was short. Havs was admitted to conference in 1802, was transferred to the Western conference in 1807, and was granted a location two years later. Smith was received on trial in 1805 but was expelled four years later for reasons that are not given. Frye and Griffith, however, had ministries that were long and exemplary. The former was of German descent and was born Feb. 2, 1778. At the age of twenty-four he united with the Baltimore conference in which he served continously for thirty years, including four years as presiding elder. After less than four years of retirement he died Sept. 18, 1835. Frye was a large, handsome man with a passion for his work. When he first came to Wyoming he was prejudiced against emotional demonstrations such as shouting and jumping. But after he on one occasion became so happy that he leaped so high that his head came into contact with a shelf nailed under the beams of an old log house he had nothing more to say against religious emotion. Soon after he arrived on the charge the rumor spread abroad that "if the rowdies did not take care, he would take them by the neck and throw them out of doors." Others replied, with a play upon the preacher's name, that "if he didn't take care, he would get fried." However, Frye soon won the respect and confidence of all classes. Indeed some of the legal profession in Wilkes-Barre declared that he was a fool to be in the ministry inasmuch as he would attain success as a statesman or in any other of the professions.

A contemporary, Mrs. Garland, speaking of the work done by Frye in Hopbottom, later Brooklyn, Pa., related that

"there was an accession to the church this year. Frye was as rough as a meat-ax. From the commencement the meetings had been held in my father's (Jacob Tewksbury's) kitchen. My grandfather at first was a persecutor. My mother had been a Presbyterian, and when she prayed it was in a low tone of voice. My grandfather would often say to her, when in prayer, 'Pray louder. I want to hear you.' On one occasion when Frye was preaching, grandfather began to weep. Mother asked Frye, after preaching, to let him come into class-meeting, and he answered her very roughly, 'You know he is an old persecutor, and what do you want him in class-meeting for?' 'I believe,' said my mother, 'he is under conviction, for I saw him weep.' 'Oh,' replied Frye, 'I wish your charity bag was not quite so large.' My mother, nothing daunted, brought the old gentleman in, broken-hearted, and weeping like a child. Mrs. Saunders had never before professed religion. But when she saw mother leading grandfather into class-meeting she started in herself, and as she entered the door she began to shout. All seemed to catch the spirit. and such a shout I never heard from so small a company."

Mrs. Garland also told of one John Stull, a German, who was under conviction but was opposed by his wife. The thing that finally determined him was not his wife's attitude but a meeting that was so noisy as to anger him. He remarked that he did not want to go to heaven that way. Late in life he confessed that never afterward did he have any inclination to become a Christian. He

also admitted that he was responsible for getting old Foster Horton into "the devil's church" three times, though he "guessed the Lord would get him after all." Horton was commendable in many ways but some times lapsed into drink. Happily, however, he did finish his life as a Christian. Another Horton, Nicholas, was for a time a class leader as well as a church steward in Brooklyn. His successor as leader was a Mr. Eaton who lived in Springville and rode six miles to meetings. Eaton in turn was followed by Jacob Tewksbury who continued until the coming of Edward Paine in 1810. Some years later Paine entered the ministry.

Elsewhere in Susquehanna county Frye visited Gibson which at the time was a part of Clifford township. Presumably he was the first Methodist preacher to deliver a sermon in that place. The house where it was delivered was that of a Baptist layman by the name of Brundage who lived near the spot where the Methodist church was later erected. Apparently no church accessions followed the sermon directly. The first persons to identify themselves as Methodists were Mrs. Margaret Bennett and Mr. George Williams both of whom had been members of the church elsewhere. The former came in 1808 and the latter a year later. Prior to these dates there had been no class in Gibson.

Frye's colleague, Alfred Griffith,<sup>35</sup> launched out this year on his ministerial career and continued in active service beyond the middle of the century with the exception of an interval of five years. During this long period he was for several years the presiding elder of four different districts. Dr. Peck in writing concerning Mr. Griffith quotes at length from an article by Dr. Nadal in The Ladies' Respository, as follows:

"In 1806 the subject of this sketch was received into the Baltimore conference and appointed to the Wyoming circuit, with Christopher Frye as his colleague. The circuit, like all others in that day, was large, and the fare was poor and coarse. The only drink they had besides water was coffee(?) made of buckwheat bread. The process of making this drink was to hold a piece of buckwheat bread, called slap-jack, in the fire by the tongs till completely charred, and then to boil it in the iron pot. The liquor thus obtained, sweetened with maple sugar, received from Mr. Griffith the name of 'slap-jack coffee,' and by this designation came to be generally known. As to eating, from early in June till autumn, except when on the Flats (Wyoming Valley), they had not a morsel of meat of any kind. Poultry could not be raised, nor pigs, nor sheep, for as soon as anything of the sort made its appearance it was carried off by the foxes, the panthers, or the wolves. If now and then a man was found bold enough to keep a hog, the pen was built just at the front door of the cabin; and, if he owned a calf, it was brought up and tied behind the house every night, and the guns kept loaded, and at hand, to drive off or kill the invading panther or wolf. As they rested at night on their bear-skins or deer-skins, they frequently heard around them the wailing scream of the panther or the howl of the wolf; and sight of the bear was more common than that of a pig or lamb.

"The sleeping was as poor in some instances as the eating and drinking. About fifty miles from the Flats (that is, at Pleasant Mount<sup>36</sup>), lived a family by the name of Cramer, consisting of husband and wife, with one son, Abram. Their house was both a stopping place and a church for our young itinerant, who had for his bed, when he

remained over night with them, the frame of an old loom, across whose beams were laid slats, and on the slats a bear-skin or two. These, with a pair of clean sheets, which were kept exclusively for the preachers, and a few superincumbent duds, constituted the sleeping apparatus. Abe, as he was familiarly called, was the preacher's bed-fellow, and on one occasion, when Mr. Griffith had just committed himself to his room and bear-skins for the night, and lay waiting for young Abram who was a stalwart boy of twenty, he happened to cast his eye in one corner of the room, or rather of the barn, that room being the only one, when a sight met him at once puzzling and grotesque. There was good mother Cramer, with her boy Abe before her, who stood with lamb-like docility, while the old lady pinned around him a snow-white sheet, which reached from the chin to the ground, making him look, his decidedly human head being excepted, for all the world like a veritable ghost. 'Why, mother,' said the young preacher, 'what on earth are you doing to Abe? Are you making a ghost of him?' 'No, child,' replied the inventive housewife, 'no, but Abe isn't fit to sleep with a preacher unless he is wrapped up in some such way as this.'

"At one of his appointments the young preacher was met by an Irishman by the name of Matthew Bortree, who had been a Methodist in his native country, having emigrated to this country, and settled where he enjoyed no religious advantages, he had become cold and backslidden. But the Holy Spirit again visited him, and be became deeply anxious to retrieve his spiritual losses, and the object of his present visit was to get the promise of preachers to visit his settlement, and establish there an appointment. The settlement (Sterling), was of about twenty years' standing, and yet a sermon had never been heard, nor a minister of the gospel seen in it.

"Upon consultation between the preachers it was agreed that Mr. Griffith should make the first visit to the new field, and preach the gospel in the regions beyond to people who had never heard its joyful proclamation. The time was fixed, and a young man was to be sent to meet the preacher at Cramer's, and conduct him through the great wilderness called the 'Big Beech Woods' to Bortree's house. In pursuance of his engagement, at the proper time Mr. Griffith started for Cramer's, rode all day without eating a morsel, and reached the friendly cabin about nightfall, having come about fifty miles. Of course he was weary and hungry. Mother Cramer said she was glad to see him, but sorry he had come, for she had nothing, nothing at all to give him to eat. Mr. Griffith said he was sorry, too, for he was very hungry; couldn't Mother Cramer possibly find something that a man could eat? The good woman promised to try, and upon rummaging among some old broken crockery she found a dry crust of bread which, added to a very small fish Abe had that day caught in the branch, and which she immediately cooked, was the supper and dinner of the young preacher, after a ride of fifty miles and preaching twice.

"The fish and the bread, which Providence made sufficient without a miracle, being found, the good woman drew out a washtub and placed a board over it for a table, on which in the moiety of a plate she arrayed the dinner, and before which she placed a three-legged stool; she invited the preacher to eat, adding, as she concluded her invitation, 'Ther's your dinner; it's all I have; if I had more, you should have it. But, if you are a good man, it's good enough for you, and, if not, it's too good.'

"By daybreak the next morning the father and Abe had returned from the mill, whither they had gone to replenish their exhausted larder, and the young itinerant had, considering time and place, a good breakfast, plenty of corn bread, washed down with slap-jack coffee, that and nothing else.

"The next evening he and his guide arrived at the settlement, and were met by seventy or eighty persons, all anxious to see that strange sight, a preacher. He put up with Bortree, and no sooner was he in the house than they insisted he should preach

that same evening. He consented, and while he preached the people gazed and wondered; not one present, perhaps, excepting Bortree, had ever before been witness of such a scene. The next day he preached morning, afternoon and night. After the second service he was approached by a great rough fellow by the name of Bill Clemens, who asked him what he meant by the Methodist Episcopal Church. The answer was given by reading from the Discipline, the General Rules and the articles of faith. Clemens, with ill-suppressed indications of feeling, remarked that, if that was all, he would not object to becoming a Methodist himself. The appointment was regularly kept up, and when winter set in the seriousness marked from the first had grown into deep penitence, and there was a repetition of those scenes of revival which had been witnessed in so many parts of the country. The young preacher could but observe that these people, who had never beheld a revival, had never even read of one when converted, wept, rejoiced, shouted just as he had seen so many do in his native state; and before conference every man and woman, and child over fourteen years old in the whole settlement, had professed religion and joined the church, with a single exception, and he was a whiskey seller. Even this man's wife was brought in. The reformation, however, took from him his occupation, and, cursing the neighborhood into heaps, he left for parts unknown. Matthew Bortree became a local preacher, and Bill Clemens a class leader, and on the spot where Bortree's house stood now stands, as we are informed, a fine church."

The route taken by Griffith in coming to Pleasant Mount can only be conjectured. But in going from there to Sterling the course would be directly south through the Big Beech Woods. All of this area was in Wayne county and was not the utmost region penetrated by the zealous and venturesome itinerants who conceived of the Wyoming circuit as reaching even to the Delaware river, <sup>37</sup> though access to the scattered population was most difficult as well as hazardous. The old stewards' book gives evidence that preaching had been inaugurated at least three years prior to Griffith's visits. During his year on the circuits this book mentions among other appointments Cramer's, (Pleasant Mount,) and the Big Beech Woods, (Canaan, or Swingle's,) but does not refer to Bortree's, (Sterling.) A later name for Canaan was Salem, (not to be confused with Salem on the Susquehanna,) then Hamlinton, and finally Hamlin.

Most of the pioneers from New England did not tarry in Wayne county but pushed on to the Wyoming Valley where they established themselves. The early settlers<sup>38</sup> in Salem were chiefly veterans of the Revolutionary army. In 1798 the township of Canaan,<sup>39</sup> which till 1808 included Salem, had only twenty taxables, though settlement began as early as 1780. In addition to the few Yankees there was the Irish<sup>40</sup> Settlement in Sterling, and the "Dutch,"<sup>41</sup> or more exactly the German, Settlement in the Big Beech Woods in Salem. Even before the Methodist preachers definitely began their work hereabout they had been preceded by missionaries from the Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist and Free Communion Baptist churches.

Two of the first four families<sup>42</sup> that came to Salem were those of Ephraim Bidwell, who with his wife Dorcas arrived in 1800, and Josiah Curtis, who

came in 1801. These people who were of a religious background, the Bidwells at least being Methodists, received their first real help in the cultivation of their spiritual life from Presbyterian missionaries. It was on the invitation of Mr. Bidwell that Ephraim Chambers in 1802 and James Polhemus a year later preached in this place. Anson Goodrich, a contemporary and an historian, in a letter to Dr. Peck, dated March 13, 1857, stated that he had vivid recollections of Christopher Frye and Alfred Griffith preaching in barns, dwelling houses and in a log schoolhouse, the only school building which the town boasted for many years. He also spoke of the preaching of Anning Owen when he was presiding elder. In all of this work Josiah Curtis cooperated. The school mentioned was known as the East School House and stood a couple of miles east of Salem Corners where later the West School House was erected. "Bidwell Town," or "Bidwell Hill" was southeast from the corners which formed the intersecting point of the old road from the Delaware to the Susquehanna with the almost equally ancient North and South road.

The famous steward's record book of the Wyoming circuit gives insights into the evolution of the circuit during a very important period in its history. During the eight years of which it gives record nearly fifty different preaching places are mentioned. Some of the places are named but once, showing the fluctuation in the itinerary of the preachers. The highest number of points listed in any quarter was twenty-five, and the lowest twelve. Some were homes and others communities. The absence of some names may be due to the probable fact that such places were not represented in the particular quarterly meeting. But first and last the names of something like a score of preaching places persist through the years, most of them ultimately being applied to separate circuits or stations. In this midmost year set forth by the record book all but about half a dozen of the places which the preachers visited were along the Susquehanna valley or in the regions immediately adjacent. At this time improvement was shown in the circuit's finances as compared with those at the beginning of the records in 1802. The income from collections in the later years revealed an advance of some \$54 over the former, or just over 13%. As the money was received from quarter to quarter it was distributed directly to the preachers pro rata, excepting a slight variation allowed for their expenses. The result was that each preacher received about \$70.00 for his services for a whole year, plus some \$10.00 for expenses of whatever sort, including maintenance for his horse! Meantime the presiding elder was remunerated from the circuit in the amount of \$24.00, to which was added \$1.75 for expenses. All of these stipends were given the highsounding name of "quarterage." Aside from what these men obtained through the hospitality of the homes in which they stayed, the foregoing figures represent their resources for subsistence for the year 1806-07. It should be mentioned that after the disbursements there remained a surplus of \$17.00 which was forwarded to the conference!

These were the men, then, such as Anning Owen, Christopher Frye and Alfred Griffith, besides many others of like devotion, who carried on the adventurous work of pushing back the religious frontiers for the peoples who were to come after them. These were the men who through storm or sunshine, in heat and in cold, by night and by day, following hardly discernable trails through the wilderness, carried faith in their hearts and hope upon their brows to bring light and love to the struggling families of the westerning America. These were the men, often hungry and wearied to the point of exhaustion, with the tang of the woods in their hair and the odor of sweating horses upon their persons, who sought out the farthermost inhabitants, consorted with them and preached righteousness to the rising generation!

In spite of the noble efforts of Messrs. Frye and Griffith, the membership<sup>43</sup> of Wyoming declined sixty-three, being only four hundred forty at the end of the year. Similarly the membership on the Tioga circuit dropped from 352 whites and one colored person to 276 whites and one colored person. These declensions in membership may have been due to emigration of members or some other valid reason not now apparent.

Although preaching services had been held in the town of Pittston<sup>44</sup> for some years it was not till 1806 that a class was formed. It is not clear where its meetings were held in the extensive area that constituted the township at that time. The class leader was Roger Searle whose conversion and earlier experiences have been mentioned. Other members of the class were: Lucy Drake, Mr. and Mrs. Miles, Mr. and Mrs. Jared Marcy, Mr. and Mrs. Jesse Gardner, Elizabeth Bennett and Sarah Collins. Three years later a camp meeting held across the river resulted in these additional members: Clarissa Searle and daughter, and Mary and Fanny Searle, nieces of Roger Searle. Searle's death occurred in May, 1813, nearly a year before that of Anning Owen his companion in flight from the Wyoming battle.

#### THE FINAL YEAR IN THE BALTIMORE CONFERENCE

The year 1807-08 was the final one in which the Susquehanna<sup>45</sup> district was in the Baltimore conference. It was also Owen's last year on the district. Eight of its ten circuits were in Pennsylvania. One was wholly in New York, and one, Tioga, was partly in each state. Tioga's preachers were Robert Burch, who three years earlier had been at Wyoming, and Benedict Burgess,<sup>46</sup> who this year was received into conference, but who located four years later. At Wyoming was Gideon Draper<sup>47</sup> and William Butler.<sup>48</sup> This was the latter's first year in the ministry which continued till past the middle of the century, always in the Baltimore conference. He was superannuated in 1827, became effective two years later, and so continued till 1844 when he took the supernumerary relation, and as such served churches as a supply. Of the four preachers Gideon Draper became the most prominent. Having been received into conference in 1803, he

was this year ordained an elder. For five years he sustained a vital relation to the development of Methodism in Northeastern Pennsylvania, three of which were as presiding elder. Twice later he was a presiding elder in the Genesee conference before he took a permanent location in 1832.

Bishop Asbury<sup>49</sup> visited the region this year for the second time, traveling throughout its length from north to south. As before, his visit was in July. His approach was by way of Tioga Point (Athens), after a round of circuits in Central and Western New York. His exit was from Wilkes-Barre over the mountain presumably by way of Stoddartsville. Taking the liberty to correct the spelling of certain names, his Journal gives this sketchy account:

"Monday, 13 (1807). We rode to Tioga, and (on the way thither) Brother Shippee gave us our dinner. A ride of sixteen miles brought us to Mineer's (at Athens), where we lodged. Tioga Point at the Junction of the Chemung and the (Susquehanna) river, is a pleasant spot. Tuesday, 13, we came six miles to Judge Gore's (Sheshequin); here I preached upon John 6:17. When we set out on Wednesday we found we were obliged to take the carriage over the precipice (Breakneck Hill?), by hand. The road to the ferry was rough; and, behold, the boat was gone, and the bank caved and washed away; a lock upon the wheel, and the assistance of a strap, enabled us to pass the sulky down by hand. Major Gaylord, at Wyalusing, lodged us well and freely. Thursday, 16. We came eleven miles to breakfast at Sturdevant's (Blackwalnut Bottom); and eleven miles more brought us to Hunt's ferry (Mehoopany); after dining at Vosburg's (Tunkhannock), free and kind, we went on to Newton Smith's (at Falls), ten miles farther; I ordained my host a deacon in his own home.

"Friday, 17. To Sutton's ten miles: the home neat as a palace; and we were entertained like kings, by a king and queen; it was no small consolation to lie down on a clean floor after all we had suffered from dirt and all its consequences. Once more I am at Wyoming. We have wearied through and clambered over one hundred miles of wild Susquehanna. O, the precipitous banks, wedging narrows, rocks, sideling hills, obstructed paths, and fords scarcely fordable, roots, stumps and gullies!

"PENNSYLVANIA—Saturday, 18. I must take medicine; the preachers wish me to remain in my lodging. Sunday, 19. I went to the woods and preached and ordained Christian and Thomas Bowman, deacons. Before I got though my discourse the rain came on, and I made a brief finish: the people were attentive. In the afternoon the preachers and many of the people went to a barn; there were showers of rain and thunder whilst service was performing. My first visit to Wyoming (1793) was in great toil and to little purpose; I am afraid I shall have no better success now. Monday, 20. We set out on a turnpike road; but, O, dreadful! I came sliding down a dug-road precipice, dark and deep, but safe. About nine o'clock, (p.m.), we made Mr. Mawin's (Mervine's?) tavern: and here were drink, and smoke, and wagoners but we closed with prayer. We came along, early Tuesday, through the Wind Gap, seventeen miles to Heller's, and breakfasted."

Within a week's time Asbury had covered much of Colbert's old itinerary and had written a record reminiscent of the latter's old diary. Travel conditions had not greatly improved in the past fifteen years. If both of these men displayed sensitiveness to the filth found in some of the homes they contacted, it need not

be charged to the fact that they were bachelors, as Peck<sup>50</sup> suggests, but rather to the realities which they faced and which they recognized as inevitable under the circumstances. They painted the scenes as they saw them but did not run away from what they saw, deplorable as the conditions were. Indeed it was their high idealism that sent them to the cabins on the frontier with the intent of ameliorating the lives of the settlers, well knowing that the greatest incentive for the attainment of the highest standards in every phase of life is to be found in the Christian religion. If both Asbury and Colbert sometimes expressed doubts concerning the results of their efforts, it is not entirely surprising, considering the impediments with which they had to deal. Referring to Asbury's remark that his earlier visit "was in great toil and to little purpose," and that he was afraid "I shall have no better success" in this instance, it should be pointed out that if the former appearance in Wyoming had no other result than the summoning of Valentine Cook from across the state, it was altogether worth while. For Cook did what Asbury could not do. He stayed in the section and carried on a program of evangelism rarely equaled anywhere, giving to the Susquehanna valley an impact whose tangible results were discernable fully a generation afterward.

As for the bishop's visitation of this year, he was too close to the scene to pass valid judgment upon its total effect. Tioga and Wyoming were but links in a great chain he was forging, that would help to hold together an expanding church. Doubtless he was even now formulating plans that were to culminate in such a regrouping of administrative units as to eventuate in the organization of the Genesee conference a little later. It is to be noted that the bishop's health, which for some time had been precarious, was such that he needed to take medicine and led the preachers to urge him to stay indoors at least for the one day. The marvel is that this man who was to be sixty-two51 years of age the following month, should survive nine additional years when we contemplate the ordeals that were continually sapping the vitality of his fragile body. When we read, as in the foregoing quotation from Asbury's Journal, of the exacting conditions of travel, and especially of his being obliged to ride by almost impassable routes eleven miles one day and seventeen another before having his breakfast, we wonder if any flagellant of old time ever subordinated his body to severer punishment than did Asbury in the round of his self-imposed duties. Moreover, the food of which he did partake in many instances was scarcely of the proper kind to build bone and muscle. The one evidence of improvement in the conditions of travel this time was that the bishop used a sulky now instead of a saddle. His companion on this occasion was Daniel Hitt<sup>52</sup> of the Baltimore conference, who had been designated for this purpose. Though Asbury followed the old route of the itinerants, some of the homes at which he stopped were not those made familiar by Colbert. This is particularly true of the homes of Judge Gore, Gaylord, Newton Smith and Vosburg. The distances between places are approximately as he gives them, though in some cases they are greater.

Judge Obadiah Gore,<sup>53</sup> one of the outstanding personages of the period, was born in Norwich, Conn., April 4, 1744, and came with his parents, Obadiah and Hannah Park Gore, to Wyoming when he was twenty years of age. At thirty-two he enlisted in the Continental army in which he served six years. In the Wyoming Battle he lost three brothers and two brothers-in-law. He and his father were blacksmiths, and are said to have been the first to use anthracite coal in their shop. If so, it was only for a brief time and in a very primitive way. In 1784 he and his brother Samuel and Mr. Arnold Franklin came to Ulster, but the following year moved across the river, where he conducted a store from 1796 to 1803. His was the first distillery operated in the town. When Luzerne county was organized in 1787 he was one of the six commissioners appointed for the county.

Major Justus Gaylord, Jr.<sup>54</sup> was one of the earliest and most prominent settlers in Wyalusing township. He and his brother Ambrose came in 1776 and settled on their father's farm in the Indian meadows of Missiscum, six miles up the river from Wyalusing. During the Revolution the major went to Wyoming and entered the army under the command of Captain Ransom. In 1785 he returned to Wyalusing and seven years later bought a tract of nine hundred acres on the north side of Wyalusing creek, where he remained until his death. His wife was the widow of Amos York who was captured and later killed by the Indians. Mrs. York and her son Miner M. were also captured but escaped after eight years. Her home was known for its hospitality to Presbyterian ministers and missionaries. After arriving at maturity the son became a minister of that denomination.

Almost coincident with the coming of Bishop Asbury to Wyoming was the erection of the oldest church edifice<sup>55</sup> still standing in Northeastern Pennsylvania. Had he come a year later he might have preached in this church which was located in the very woods of which he spoke. One of the many omissions from his Journal was any reference to the prospective construction of this building, the timbers for which were then lying about and in his sight. This church antedated the completion of "Old Ship Zion" in Wilkes-Barre by four years, This one room, wooden structure, with its high pulpit and box-like pews, situated in the cemetery at Forty Fort, is rarely used, but is deservedly maintained for its historic and sentimental significance. For generations it served the intent of its sponsors as a place of worship for Methodists and Presbyterians on alternate occasions.

When the good bishop deprecated the value of his current tour through the Valley he could not know what it meant to many, including particularly one

little girl who was present with her mother. During the service mentioned in the Journal she saw the bishop kneel in prayer, and then she observed that as the rain began to fall William Butler knelt by the side of the bishop and held an umbrella over his head. When the storm increased and was accompanied by sharp lightning and roaring thunder the sermon necessarily was abbreviated. But the little Miss, beholding the saintly man undisturbed while many others were affrighted, was so deeply impressed that she concluded, "it is religion that makes him so fearless amid the storm." This conviction led to her conversion and wrought such an experience that its memory remained with her throughout her life.

It was as true of Bishop Asbury as of any other minister that no man's effectiveness is to be measured solely, or perhaps chiefly, by his pulpit ministry. Administration has its place in the evaluation of a minister's service. In this direction Asbury was most efficient in connection with the work in the Wyoming country as well as elsewhere. Just as the appointment of Cook to Wyoming fourteen years earlier was a stroke of genius so now it was a mark of wisdom and imagination for the bishop to send Gideon Draper to the outlying regions, particularly to the area involving the Big Beech Woods. Technically Draper would still be under appointment to the Wyoming circuit, but would be specifically commissioned to "the mission," which subsequently became the Canaan circuit. As he departed for this assignment he was accompanied by Daniel Hitt, the bishop's companion hitherto, who proceeded to New York.

In the particular part of the field to which Mr. Draper had been named his first definite contact was with Major Theodore Woodbridge, <sup>56</sup> who lived midway between what is now Hamlin and the Little Meadows, and whom he found at work in his saw mill. The major who had been a Congregationalist for forty years was a bit reserved when the preacher informed him of his errand. However, he raised no objections when Mr. Draper proposed a service for the following Sabbath, and invited him to enjoy his hospitality. No encouragement was given for future services until after the major had heard the preacher thrice on the opening day of his mission. The response of the people was immediately favorable. The large number who turned out were attentive and gave evidence that the messages of the minister had been well received. Thereupon Major Woodbridge, who was by no means narrow in his views, invited Mr. Draper to arrange for regular services in his house, and assured him of his fullest cooperation.

Backed by a letter of recommendation from the major, Mr. Draper proceeded to 'Squire Chapman's at Paupack, having arranged in advance for an appointment there. On his way to Chapman's, which was east from Hamlin, he detoured around by way of Sterling and preached in this settlement where Frey and Griffith had formed a class among these Irish Methodist families. Passing on

from there he overtook two young men, one of whom proved to be talkative and who explained that he was going to Chapman's to hear a preacher by the name of Draper. The young man said he had heard that Draper had raised the devil at Major Woodbridge's, but didn't believe he could do anything at Chapman's. Anyhow he wanted to give the man a hearing. Draper responded that he, too, was going to Chapman's and was anxious to know how the preacher made out. Without a suspicion as to Draper's identity, the young man voiced his contempt for Methodists in general. At the same time he showed unmistakable appreciation of the stranger as a most sociable gentleman.

When the travelers arrived in sight of the house where the meeting was to be held there was every sign that it would be largely attended. Horses in great numbers were tied to the fence. Everywhere people where standing and talking, their conversation presumably being about the coming of the preacher. The talkative young man insisted on taking charge of the stranger's horse, and then followed him into the house, seating himself next to his new-found friend. Audible conversation was carried on all around Mr. Draper. Some doubted that the preacher would come. Mrs. Chapman, who sat on the other side of a rough partition, declared she wished her husband had not given out the appointment. At the designated hour Mr. Draper arose, took his small Bible and hymn book from his pocket, remarking that he supposed the time had arrived for the service to begin. Amid universal surprise, the most astonished of all present was the garrulous young man. However, from silent attention the audience passed on to very deep interest. Before the meeting was brought to a close many were moved even to tears.

After the service Mr. Draper announced that he would be glad to call at the homes next day, if there were any parents who desired their children to be baptized. Thus many homes were opened for him both to baptize and to teach. This new experience caused many parents to weep, though their children stared or were afraid. The outcome of it all was that Mr. Chapman was happy that he had made the appointment. He also arranged for future meetings and gave the preacher letters of introduction to his friends elsewhere. Subsequent to the service just described other meetings were held, resulting in the formation of a class of which Mr. Chapman became the leader. Among those who joined the class was the young man with whom Mr. Draper conversed on the way to Chapman's. In fact he became the assistant leader.

Mr. Draper scheduled a love feast to be held in Major Woodbridge's barn. Contrary to the strict practices of the times everyone was invited to attend. Although the congregation filled the barn, there were only a few who took part in the service. These, however, made up for the silence of the others, speaking again and again. Among those who did participate were Mr. Draper, Major and Mrs. Woodbridge and a German woman. When this woman became boisterous

the major was alarmed and came to the leader about it. He was assured there would be no harm from her exuberance, which he found to be true. Indeed the interest grew so that the service continued well into the night, resulting in many conversions. Among the converts was an old raftsman seventy years of age. At Mr. Draper's request the major took a list of those who desired to join the class, and himself accepted its leadership. Almost before he realized it he had become the leader of a Methodist class, an office that brought to him the responsibility of helping to guide the spiritual welfare of twenty-two people. It was in Major Woodbridge's barn that Anning Owen, as presiding elder, conducted the first quarterly meeting held in this section.

Both Major Woodbridge and Mr. Chapman had been devout Congregationalists who had deplored the contemporary irreligion and had prayed for a religious awakening. When they beheld what Methodism could do as a means to the answer of their prayers they readily identified themselves with this aggressive movement and gave it their consistent support. Being widely and favorably known their letters of recommendation opened doors elsewhere in Wayne county for Mr. Draper, giving him access to the homes of leading families. Equipped with such letters he went to a settlement (Damascus?) on the Delaware where he called upon a Dr. Pew, a man of means and of religion, who had built a stone church for the accommodation of his neighbors. He was cordially received and continued there a week. He also preached at a place (Cochecton?) across the river. In all of his endeavors he had the backing of Dr. Pew. Through Sheriff Woodward he arranged an appointment in Bethany<sup>57</sup> which at that time was the county seat. On his visit to this place, which was in the winter, he was accompanied by sixteen sleigh loads of followers.

The first settlement in Bethany was about 1801 when four families established their homes there. Not long afterward roving missionaries, representing different denominations, began to visit the place and to hold services. One of these was Epaphras Thompson, a Baptist preacher, who came occasionally, Bethany, being the county seat, grew in population as well as apparently in irreligion, and became noted for its vice and Sabbath desecration. Only a few of its people showed interest in religion. About 1806 "Elder" Peck, a Baptist preacher from Mount Pleasant, began to hold services once a month. Presumably he is the one who warned the people against Mr. Draper<sup>58</sup> whom he called an English spy and a "horse thief." Before a large congregation that greeted Mr. Draper at his meeting in the court house he referred to the slanders, and, calling the slanderer by name, raised the question if he were present. When he was assured that the man in question was not in the audience he refuted the charges and then delivered himself of a searching sermon. The next day he sought out the accusing preacher and gave him his choice between retracting what he had charged or of being prosecuted for libel. Faced with these alternatives, the culprit chose the former course.

The hostility of the old Baptist preacher was not the only opposition from religionists with which Mr. Draper had to deal. When report got back to New England that such men as Major Woodbridge, Mr. Chapman and other former Congregationalists had changed their allegiance to the Methodist way of life the leaders there decided upon an aggresive effort to reclaim the lost ground as well as their lost constituents. Missionaries were therefore sent into this territory with the object of convincing these errant members of the folly of their defection and of winning them back to what they considered the orthodox teachings of Calvinism. The men selected for this delicate task were not wisely chosen and served rather to confirm the converts in their new alliance than to restore them to their former fellowship. One of these zealots was the Rev. Mr. Hoyt<sup>59</sup> who had his headquarters in Kingston. Mr. Draper first met this emissary at Mount Pleasant, one of the places on his Wayne county itinerary. He found him at a home where Draper occasionally stopped. Hoyt was narrating an instance of winning a Methodist preacher from Binghamton over to the current Congregational position. Words passed between the two men, which caused Hoyt to be highly indignant. When someone addressed the newcomer by name Hoyt exclaimed, "Draper! I have heard of him. He is more of a knave than a fool!" The two missionaries were obliged to sleep in the same bed, which caused Hoyt to boil over with rage. Draper, on the other hand, was undisturbed and teased his bed-fellow till the latter became so boisterous that boys who were on the outside of the house reported Hoyt had cursed and sworn at Draper. In the morning Draper inquired of his irritable companion as to where he was going. "I'm going to 'Squire Chapman's," was the reply. "He's a Congregationalist." To this Draper responded, "I'm going there, too. He was a Congregationalist, but he has joined the Methodists." They did meet not only at Chapman's, but also at Major Woodbridge's. All of Hoyt's efforts were in vain. So far as winning his erstwhile members back to the fold his mission was a failure.

The Rev. Seth Williston was another missionary but a man of very different spirit and technique. He accorded Mr. Draper every courtesy and yet strongly inveighed against his Arminian teachings. At Oquaga where they met, Williston warned his hearers not to believe in the doctrine of "Absolute Perfection," showing he did not understand the fundamentals of Wesleyanism. Mr. Draper, however, pointed out that no one believed in the idea of absolute perfection. Riding together to Brooklyn, Williston there preached and Draper followed with exhortation. Stirred by the latter's appeal, the Methodists present began to shout, to the distress of Williston who sought to escape from the room. The exit was blocked by Draper whom Williston the next day accused of obliging him to hear the Methodists bawl. But Draper's course had been pursued good-naturedly and needed no explanation or apology.

On at least one of Mr. Draper's trips through Newfoundland<sup>60</sup> and along the

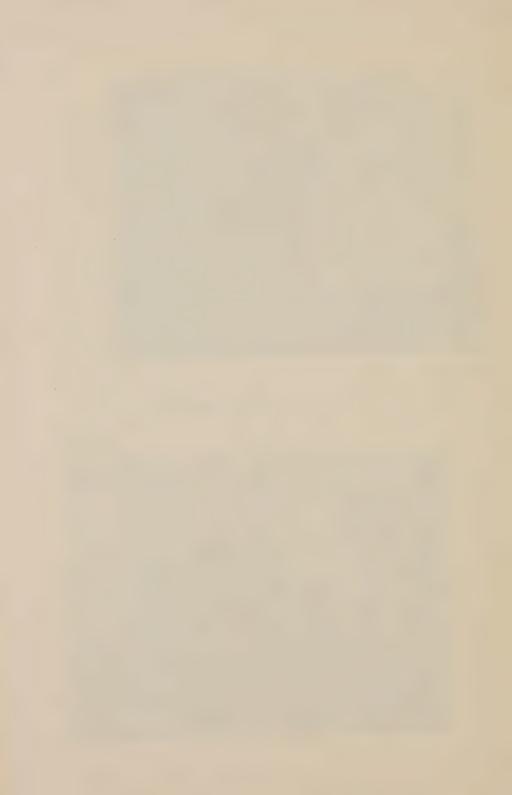


EXTERIOR

The Old Forty Fort Church—Erected 1808

Interior





Wallenpaupack he was accompanied by his Wyoming colleague, Wm. Butler, compared with whom he was considered the more excitable. The stamina of each of these men was put to the test, especially in the region just mentioned. There being almost no roads of any sort they were obliged to make their journey afoot. As may easily be imagined everything was of a primitive sort. A typical dinner consisted of corn meal mush and milk, served in a squash shell and eaten with a wooden spoon.

Checking through the ten preceding paragraphs it will be discovered that Gideon Draper in the special field to which he had been assigned, held forth in at least nine different places. One of these was at Maj. Woodbridge's who lived in that part of Canaan which at about this time became Salem. One was at Chapman's, in Paupack, later known as Arlington. Sterling, where Bortree lived, was another locality. The places on either side of the Delaware may have been where now are Damascus and Cochecton. Mount Pleasant was the abode of the Cramers. Besides there were Bethany, Oquaga and Hopbottom (Brooklyn).

The quarterly meetings of the Wyoming circuit<sup>61</sup> for 1807-08 were held at Plymouth, Kingston, Canaan and Wilkes-Barre respectively. Judging by the number of societies reporting collections to the Canaan meeting, the attendance there was the smallest. Its distance from the other preaching places and its lack of accessibility would account for this. However, the two new appointments in the Canaan section were represented, one being given as "Major Woodbridge's," and the other as "Newfoundland." The latter name presumably was used in a rather general way and stood for the Chapman neighborhood which already has been identified with Paupack. At the former place the largest single collection on the circuit for the year was reported, namely, \$7.42. The fourth quarterly meeting, held in Wilkes-Barre, recorded the achievements for the year, which were most gratifying. The reports were from a score of preaching places, a number larger than at any other meeting of the year. The collections, also, were the largest in this quarter. It may be noted, moreover, that the public collection at this meeting was the largest received at any one time as recorded in the old steward's book, namely, \$38.40. That was the amount needed to square the accounts for the year, and reveals that Methodism very early in its history learned the knack of falling back on the expediency of making an heroic effort at the end of the year to provide for its financial deficits. The "support" paid to the preachers in charge was as follows: Draper, \$80.00 and \$15.551/2 for expenses; Butler, \$79.951/2 and \$13.421/2 for expenses. Owen as presiding elder received as this circuit's share for his support, \$24.00 quarterage and \$1.00 for expense. Besides the \$3.00 that was sent to the conference for its fund, \$6.00 was allowed for the doctor bills and expenses of Morris Howe who as a supernumerary was listed as a supply at Huntington. A trifling amount for communion wine was also included in the disbursements for the year.

The annual session of the Baltimore conference<sup>62</sup> convened in Georgetown, March 2, 1808. The records presented showed that the preceding year had been fruitful when measured by membership increases both at Wyoming and at Tioga. The latter was able to report a net of 322 white and two colored members, a gain of fifty-four and one respectively. The former advanced from a membership of 440 to a total of 551.

Shortly after the adjournment of the annual conference the quadrennial session of the General Conference<sup>63</sup> assembled also in Baltimore which for some years was its regular place of meeting. This was the last session at which all conference members were expected to attend. Subsequently the body was made up of delegates elected by the several annual conferences. The deliberations of the 1808 session began Saturday, May 6, and continued three weeks. One hundred twenty-nine members were present on the opening day. Of these twenty-one were from the Baltimore conference, including nine who had served in Northeastern Pennsylvania, namely, James Smith, James Paynter, Christopher Frye, Gideon Draper, Jacob Gruber, Frederick Stier, Morris Howe, Anning Owen and Robert Roberts. Of the thirty-two from the Philadelphia conference eight had labored in the region under discussion, namely, Thomas Ware, Joseph Everett, James Herron, James Moore, James Smith, William Colbert, Samuel Budd and David Bartine.

# VII. Last Years in the Philadelphia Conference, First in the Genesee

#### CANAAN A CIRCUIT

MANY IMPORTANT CHANGES issued from the 1808 session of the Baltimore conference<sup>1</sup>. Most significant of these was the transfer of the Susquehanna district with its eleven circuits from the Baltimore to the Philadelphia conference. In the place of Anning Owen, James Herron was sent as presiding elder of the district. The name of the Canaan circuit appears for the first time, having Gideon Draper as preacher in charge. James Reiley<sup>2</sup> and Henry Montooth<sup>3</sup> were named for Wyoming, and David Best<sup>4</sup> and John Kimberlin<sup>5</sup> for Tioga. Montooth was received on trial this year, two years later was admitted into full membership and ordained a deacon, but the following year located. Reiley was received in 1807, came into the Philadelphia conference when the district was transferred, but returned to the original conference the next year, where he remained till his death in 1841 at the age of fifty-seven, having preached most of the intervening time. He was conscientious in his work and was an acceptable preacher in spite of a defect in his speech. Best was a native of Ireland where he had been a member of the Wesleyan connection. Coming to America in early manhood, he entered the itinerancy in 1801 and continued in the Philadelphia conference for forty years. In 1835 he became a supernumerary and thereafter preached as a supply. His death occurred in 1841 in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Kimberlin entered the ministry this year, and when the district became a part of the newly organized Genesee conference in 1810 he went with it, being appointed to Canaan in 1811 and to Wyoming in 1812. When the Oneida conference was created in 1828 he automatically went with the district into that conference. Occasionally physical infirmities compelled him to step aside. It was as a superannuate that he again automatically became a member of the Wyoming conference on its organization in 1852, his death occurring the following year.

Although Gideon Draper's name is the only one that appears in 1808 in connection with Canaan he did have as associate Thomas Elliott<sup>6</sup> who was listed as a missionary at Caledonia in the same district. The old Stewards' Book for the Canaan circuit indicates that Elliott entered upon his duties here on Aug. 14. Evidently the work was opening up so rapidly that it was too much for one

man to handle. Elliott had been received on trial in 1806 and was regularly promoted in ordinations and conference relations. In 1809 he was one of the preachers at Tioga, and the next year went with his district into the Genesee conference. However, in 1813 he became a supernumerary, and, after returning to the effective ranks for one year, located in 1815.

The class of which Major Woodbridge had been made leader continued to thrive so that the twenty-two members shortly became thirty-five. The personnel included: Theodore Woodbridge, Ephrain and Dorcas Bidwell, Harris and Ruey Hamlin, and their daughter Ruey, (later Mrs. Baldwin,) Mr. and Mrs. Michael Mitchel, Miss Catherine Hamlin, (later Mrs. Lee,) Irene Potter, Dorcas Miller, Charles and Ann Goodrich, Charles Goodrich, Jr., Timothy and Betsy Hollister, Josiah and Eunice Curtis, Gideon and Ann Curtis, Fitch H. Curtis, William Cobb, Salmon and Sally Jones, Joseph Miller, William and Ann Dayton, Sanford and Laminta Wright, Jeremiah and Ruth Osgood, Edmund and Rebecca Nicholson, and Oliver Hamlin.

The effect of the separation of Canaan from Wyoming was reflected in many ways.7 The new circuit reported a membership of 218 at the close of the year 1808-09, whereas Wyoming showed 360, a decline of 191. The membership at Tioga, including two colored members, was 343, an increase of nine. The drop in the membership on the Wyoming circuit is accounted for from the fact that Canaan and some other preaching places had been taken away, although on the other hand some new points were listed.8 This year for the first time a quarterly meeting was held at Tunkhannock, the date being Oct. 29 and 30. A deficit of \$38.68 was recorded, a natural decline due to the smaller membership. The amounts paid to each of the preachers for expenses averaged about \$1.00 a month. As salary each received for the whole year the pitifully small amount of \$45.60, less than \$4.00 a month! Even though they and their horses supposedly "lived off the land," which could scarcely be true, their individual incomes, which came in driblets at uncertain times in the year, was a decimal over 12 cents a day. Where should we arrive, if we greatly reflected upon such figures as these?

Meantime the Congregationalists<sup>9</sup> in the town of Salem were putting forth aggressive efforts to build up their church. Work that had been carried on by such missionaries as Seth Williston, Ebenezer Kingsbury, Daniel Waldo and David Harroway made it possible to effect an organization on Aug. 15, 1808, under the supervision of Mr. Harroway. The charter members were: Hezekiah Bingham, Hezekiah Bingham, Jr., Joseph Woodbridge, Ashel Woodbridge, Jesse Miller, Rachel Weston, Martha Stevens and Ann Woodbridge. Not till four years later was there a settled pastor in Wayne county, when Worthington Wright was placed in charge of all Congregationalist churches in the county, having his residence in Bethany. Presumably some of the persons named in the foregoing

list were kinsmen of Major Woodbridge, and may have been members of his immediate family. Anson Goodrich,<sup>10</sup> the historian, informed Dr. Peck that when the major died in 1811 or 1812 some of the major's children employed him to go to Kingston to secure the Rev. Mr. Hoyt, a Baptist preacher, to officiate at the father's funeral. A daughter<sup>11</sup> of the major became a missionary to the Cherokee Indians, another married a Presbyterian minister, and his son William in 1820 organized a Sunday school in the "East Schoolhouse." Probably the first Sunday school<sup>12</sup> established in the county was formed two years earlier in the log-house home of Mrs. Ann Woodbridge at "Salem Corners," now Hamlin. Later its sessions were held in the "West Schoolhouse," at that place. In time the two Sunday schools met alternately in these buildings.

It is worthy of observation that in spite of the fact that this year saw the status of the Wyoming circuit at a low level, it was also a year that pointed to a great material development of the Valley, the outcome of which would be a large increase of population, which in turn would lead to such an addition to the church membership as could not be conceived at the time. For this was the year in which Judge Fell<sup>13</sup> in Wilkes-Barre made the successful experiment of burning hard coal in a grate in his home. A score of years earlier anthracite had been adapted to use in forges. It required still another score of years before it became a factor in commerce. What Judge Fell did, though not realized at the time, had far reaching significance for every phase of life, including that of the church.

### Draper on the District—George Lane—Asbury's Third Visit— Camp Meetings.

1809-10 was the final year<sup>14</sup> in which Northeastern Pennsylvania was within the Philadelphia conference. Because of Herron's<sup>15</sup> inacceptability as presiding elder of the Susquehanna district he was superseded by Gideon Draper who had proved his efficiency both at Wyoming and at Canaan. For this one year the latter circuit was placed in the Schuylkill district whose presiding elder was William Hunter.<sup>16</sup> This man, like many another of his contemporaries, was born in Ireland. After identifying himself with the Wesleyan movement he came to America in 1790 when thirty-five years of age. Two years later he was received on trial, becoming the junior preacher at Camden. His effective ministry in America covered twenty-four years, including a four-year term on the Schuylkill district. He was a supernumerary for eight years and a superannunate for nine. In the former relation he served as a supply pastor. His was a consistent ministry, characterized by missionary zeal. In its second year as a separate circuit Canaan was served by Anning Owen and James Quail.<sup>17</sup> The latter was a young man of considerable promise, who was this year received into conference but who

died Jan. 1, 1816, at the age of thirty, after a little more than six years in the ministry he loved. At Tioga the preachers were Thomas Elliott and George Thomas. 18 Thomas had been received into the Baltimore conference two years earlier, was this year in the Philadelphia conference, entered the Genesee conference on its organization, but located in 1814.

At Wyoming George Lane<sup>19</sup> and Abraham Dawson<sup>20</sup> were colleagues. Dawson entered the Philadelphia conference two years previously and went with his district into the Genesee conference in 1810. After serving several charges, including Tioga in 1812, he became a member of the Baltimore conference in 1820, but was expelled two years later. The career of George Lane was one of unusual brilliance. Born April 13, 1784, near the Hudson river in New York State, he was trained in the Puritan standards under his mother's guidance. As a trophy of the ministry of James Herron, he was converted at the age of nineteen and united with the Philadelphia conference in 1805. While he was serving Wyoming he was united in marriage with "a young woman of extraordinary mind and talents," Miss Sarah Harvey, who resided in the Valley. Following his year at Wyoming he found himself a member of the Genesee conference which absorbed the Susquehanna district. At the same time he took a location, very likely on the assumption that marriage and the itinerancy were mutually incompatible. However, in 1819 he again became effective and was made the presiding elder of the Susquehanna district which he served four years, presumably maintaining his residence in Kingston. After one year as the head of the Ontario district Lane in 1825 located for the second time. In 1834 he returned to the active ranks and became once more the presiding elder of the Susquehanna district, at that time a unit of the Oneida conference which had been formed in 1829. The General Conference having elected him in 1836 as one of the Book Agents of the denomination, he directly transferred his relations to the New York conference. Ten years later Lane resumed membership with the Oneida conference although he served as a Book Agent for four quadrenniums. After his retirement from this high office he established relations with the New Jersey conference with which he remained until his death, May 6, 1859.

As a Christian, George Lane was a man of deep piety and unquestioned spirituality. As a preacher he was both scriptural and thoughtful, sometimes proving to be overwhelmingly eloquent. As a business man he was not only conscientious but was also energetic and sagacious. In his capacity as a Book Agent he had the additional duty of serving as treasurer of the church Missionary Society. When he entered into this responsible office the society was laboring under a troublesome debt that rose to \$50,000 or \$60,000. Banks declined to make further advances in the name of the society but had such confidence in the ability and integrity of George Lane that they readily granted loans upon his signature. By heroic effort the debt was liquidated and the confidence of the bankers

justified. This gained for Lane the title of "The Father of the Missionary Society," and made it possible for the society to go forward with a larger program, and to enter the opening doors of the period.

Bishop Asbury,<sup>21</sup> after conducting the annual conference in old St. George's church, Philadelphia, early in April, passed through New Jersey and five weeks later was holding a conference in the John Street church, New York. From there he continued on up into Maine where he presided over the New England conference the middle of June. Thence journeying westward through New Hampshire and Vermont he came to Central New York within a period of four weeks, stopping along the route to preach and strengthen the work. Next the bishop headed southward and entered Pennsylvania at the point where the Susquehanna finds its way into the state. It was the third of six visits that he made to Northeastern Pennsylvania. These visits may be taken as an index of Asbury's appreciation of the importance of this section as a field of endeavor.

Quoting from the bishop's Journal:

"PENNSYLVANIA. Friday, 21 (July, 1809). We were comfortable while resting at Dr. Hopkins'. Arrived at the ferry bank, no boat appeared, so I came back and called a meeting. Since we left Baltimore in April, we have made, we compute, two thousand miles. Such roads, such rains, and such lodgings! Why should I wish to stay in this land? I have no possessions or babes to bind me to the soil; what are called the comforts of life I rarely enjoy; the wish to live an hour such a life as this would be strange to so suffering, so toil-worn a wretch. But God is with me, and souls are my reward: I may yet rejoice, yea, and will rejoice. I might fill pages with this last week's wonders. We are eighty miles behind our Sabbath appointment. I called at a certain house—it would not do—I was compelled to turn out again to the pelting of the wind and rain. Though old, I have eyes. The hand of God will come upon them: as for the young lady, shame and contempt will fall on her; mark the event. I preached on Friday at Tioga Point. We were at Judge Gore's by eight o'clock on Saturday morning. We took thence through the Narrows, and a late and rough ride brought us to a tavern lodging.

"Sunday, 23. We must needs ride to-day. Our route lay through Walnut Bottom, but we missed our way and the preaching of George Lane. The twenty-four miles' ride brought us to breakfast at Otis'. Brother Boehm upset the sulky and broke the shaft. Night closed upon us at Osterhout's tavern. Passing along on Monday, we stopped to dine with Squire Sutton. We lodged under the roof of Widow Dennison. Tuesday morning we found the ferry at Wilkes-Barre only just passable. Mervine gave us shelter for the night. We have rode thirty-eight miles to-day, and sore trials have we passed through."

Thence their course was again southward.

From Henry Boehm,<sup>22</sup> who was Bishop Asbury's traveling companion at this time, we learn that the Dr. Hopkins the bishop mentioned was at Tioga Point, or Athens, and that it was in the academy that the bishop preached, using as his text Is. 55:6, "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found." Referring to the bishop's remark that he "might fill pages with this last week's wonders," Boehm quotes Dr. Abel Stevens' "Memorials" as saying, "It is a pity he didn't." Boehm

gives his own version of the experience with the sulky, which he sometimes calls a carriage and sometimes a chaise. According to the bishop's companion, "The only wonder is that we did not upset twenty times where we did once. It was well I was in the sulky instead of the old bishop, or he might have fared hard." These two men varied their travel, taking turns at riding horseback and in the sulky. Two years earlier when Daniel Hitt was the bishop's companion along the Susquehanna there was difficulty in handling the sulky but not as great as in the instance just narrated.

What was probably the first quarterly meeting<sup>23</sup> to be held in the new Forty Fort church took place this year. As it is not mentioned in the old stewards' record book for the circuit it may have been either the first or the second quarterly meeting of the year 1809-10, neither of which was entered in that book. Peck gives Mrs. Fanny Cary as his authority on the meeting which presumably was held either in the early or late summer. A large crowd was present on Saturday, coming from Brooklyn in Susquehanna county, Canaan and Salem in Wayne; besides the delegations from Blackwalnut and Wyalusing up the Susquehanna, and from Huntington, Berwick, Briar Creek and Northumberland down the river, and others from places nearer by. As the arrivals continued to increase in number, exceeding expectations, there was serious question that the available facilities could accommodate them all. At this juncture Darius Williams, of Kingston, rode up, lustily singing:

"I'm happy, I'm happy; O wondrous account! My joys are immortal; I stand on the mount. I gaze on my treasure and long to be there, With angels, my kindred, and Jesus my dear."

Williams then exclaimed, "I've got a house that will hold forty, and a heart that will hold a hundred. All who want places, follow me!" A large company did follow him and found that Mrs. Williams had a great potpie she had cooked in a big iron kettle. After partaking of the potpie and other good things, and after the tables had been cleared away, an enthusiastic service was held, characterized by prayer, singing and shouting. So lusty were the voices that they were heard as far away as Ross Hill to the south and across the valley beyond Wilkes-Barre. The effect was as of a victorious army. It was late when the men found their lodging in the barn, still singing and shouting. As for the women, they spread their beds on the house floor and fell asleep from sheer exhaustion. The love feast and other services of the Sabbath showed no abatement of the high spiritual festivities of the occasion. No evidence has survived to indicate who were the speakers or what were their texts. What stood out in after years in the memories of the participants was but the synthesis of everybody and everything blended in one vast religious experience. Some were still telling about this memorable meeting half a century later.

Besides all else that marked the year 1809-10 as noteworthy was the introduction of the first camp meeting<sup>24</sup> in the area. The camp was located in the upper part of the Valley in the vicinity of the present Wyoming, and was the scene of a great gathering of people who were drawn from a radius of fifty miles to witness the innovation. So much good resulted in the deepening of religious experience and in the "awakening" of non-Christians that camp meetings here and elsewhere became a fixed institution for more than a century. Just as the regular preaching service had its place, and just as the quarterly meeting came to have its larger function, so the camp meeting was a glorification of the other two phenomena of Methodist usage. Each emphasized evangelism but with a different approach and with a different line of procedure. In comparison with the regular preaching service which was conducted for the various societies by the preacher or preachers in charge of a circuit, and in comparison with the quarterly meeting which was in the hands of the presiding elder who was assisted by at least the preachers of the circuit to which it pertained, so the camp meeting served an entire district and was administered by the presiding elder with whom the preachers of the district collaborated. The larger meeting developed into an annual occurrence, the others being quarterly in the case of the circuits and weekly or biweekly in the case of the societies.

Camp meetings<sup>25</sup> had their origin in what was then the western country of Tennessee and spread north through Kentucky and into parts of Ohio especially from 1799 to 1801. The inception of this type of religious expression and activity was spontaneous and was a development in which the promoters were two brothers, John and William McGee, the former a Methodist and the latter a Presbyterian, On a certain occasion these ministers had set out for Ohio but halted on the way to preach at a sacramental service where the minister was a Presbyterian by the name of McGready. A very remarkable religious experience so stimulated the people that others began to come in increasing numbers, some from distant places. No building being large enough to accommodate the multitude, meetings were held in the woods. The people came with horses and wagons, bringing their food, bedding and temporary shelter. No denominational lines were recognized, as Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists united in a noble spiritual fellowship. Services were held not only in the day time but also at night when candles, torches and lamps were used. The peculiar conditions of the forest with its silence and its solemnity made the meetings most impressive. The wilderness echoed with the voices heard in preaching, exhortation, prayer and singing, as well as with the outcries of the penitents and of those who gained a new experience, both sinners and formalists. Tears of contrition gave place to tears of a new-found joy. Even opposition did not abate or deter the spiritual affirmation. Many who came to mock or deride were suddenly overwhelmed by a prostrating power. Some who essayed to flee away from it were felled in their

flight. Those who were prostrated were often gathered into some place of safety lest they be trampled by the crowd. From the place of the original spiritual demonstration the movement scattered like a conflagration touched off by torches in the hands of many people. Estimates of the throngs varied from a few hundred in some places to as many as 20,000 in others. One of the ardent promoters of camp meetings in their early stages as well as later was William Mc-Kendree, afterward a bishop, who in 1801 was appointed to the Kentucky district.

Methodism cannot claim sole recognition for the introduction of camp meetings as a part of its technique yet their widespread use and their continuance in essential characteristics even into the opening of the nineteenth century was a distinction of this denomination. The Presbyterians who shared in its origin omitted this type of service from their program after some years. Not all aspects of camp meetings merited praise. Indeed some phases were open to criticisms as stressing emotionalism and passion. There were excessive physical demonstrations that were falsely and ignorantly passed off as manifestations of the divine spirit. Such expressions were inevitable but must not be regarded as invalidating the definite contribution such meetings made to the regeneration of the godless, the edification of the believers and to the inculcation of a high moral tone in the regions affected. That all who were brought under the influence of this type of evangelism responded to it or that those who did respond remained steadfast could not be expected. On the other hand it cannot be denied that thousands of lives were changed for the better, that church membership was greatly increased, that the general standard of living was elevated, and that many recruits for the ministry were secured. The discontinuance of the camp meeting as an institution in recent times has no relation to what could be said about it either by way of praise or of criticism. The factors that operated in its lapse are to be found in totally other causes.

By the time the first camp meeting was held in the Wyoming Valley meetings of this sort had been conducted elsewhere for a decade. In general they were held after the grain was harvested and before the later ingatherings on the farm, and were located near a stream in a body of woods from which the brush had been removed. The conventional pattern provided for the preachers' stand to be located at a central point. Around the stand a space was left to accommodate the auditors for whom benches were provided as far as possible. Immediately in front of the speakers' stand was an altar rail or its equivalent, to which penitents were invited to come in response to the exhortations. Before the rail straw was scattered so that those who came might kneel without discomfort or the danger of soiling their clothing. At a little distance from all of this and forming a quadrangle about it were the temporary homes of the attending people. These were arranged, sometimes in two or more rows deep. These dwelling places nor-

mally were cloth tents though in later years simple wooden structures were erected. Here the campers came annually by wagon or by boat, often whole families, bringing the bare necessities for subsistence for the duration of the camp, such as bedding, provisions and cooking utensils. Sometimes a large group occupied but a single shelter. Everything was of a primitive sort. The cooking was done over fires that were located far enough in the rear of the tents to avoid the danger of conflagration and the nuisance of smoke.

For the guidance and government of the camp meeting attendants rules were posted. These were also for the safety of the people and for the purpose of ensuring the object of the meeting. All were expected to arise at 5 a. m., have their breakfast at 6, and to retire not later than 10 p. m. They were also expected to attend the daily services which included preaching, morning, afternoon and evening, with prayer meetings in between. In addition to all other religious services family prayers or services of prayer in the separate tents before breakfast was the rule. At night lights were burned at the stand and throughout the camp, and guards were placed as a precaution against mischief makers and miscreants. At the same time the attendance not only of Christians but also of non-Christians was always encouraged. It was inevitable that sometimes rowdies and men under the influence of liquor were a source of disturbance. From such as these, however, came some of the most notable conversions resulting from the meetings. With all concentration upon the major objectives of the meeting it should not be a matter of surprise that many remarkable conversions took place in the several days that were spent together or that among the converts were men and women of outstanding character whose later services were most valuable to the growing church.

The final records in the old Steward's Book of the Wyoming circuit are for the third and fourth quarters of the year 1809-10, according to which the finances were still low. In the fourth quarter the name of Samuel Carver, a local preacher previously mentioned, was substituted for that of George Lane, leaving the implication that the latter desisted from preaching fully three months before the session of the conference at which he took a location. The omission of several familiar preaching places from the list as given in this final record may be due to the absence of representatives as well as of reports from these churches. On the other hand the names of a few new places are to be noted. One of these is Braintrim, a township in Susquehanna county, in which are located Laceyville and Skinner's Eddy. This instance illustrated the frequent use of the name of a township for that of a charge. In the interim between the annual session of the Philadelphia conference in April and the convening of the new Genesee conference in July, Loring Grant<sup>26</sup> succeeded Carver.

At the end of the year the membership<sup>27</sup> on the Wyoming circuit was 363, a gain of 3 for the year; on the Tioga circuit, 393, a gain of 50; and on the

Canaan circuit, 223, a gain of 5. If half of the membership of the Tioga circuit was across the state line in New York, the approximate total membership of the church in Northeastern Pennsylvania was 785 in 1810. Inasmuch as the population<sup>28</sup> of Luzerne county at that time was 18,109, and of Wayne, 4,125, these two counties embracing all of the territory under consideration, the Methodist members constituted a trifle more than 3% of the combined population of 22,234. Based upon these figures it is apparent that the Methodist Episcopal church was numerically weak in proportion to the population. However, there had been an appreciable growth when viewed in relation to the brief number of the years of its existence. It was unusual for the General Minutes to give the number of the members of a circuit the very year in which it was named as a charge. This did occur in the case of Wyoming. Thus for twenty years Northeastern Pennsylvania was represented among the appointments and for nineteen years its increasing membership was annually tabulated. At the end of this period its approximate membership of 785 amounted to an increase of nearly sevenfold. There was no comparable growth in the population of this territory during the same period. Moreover, the potency of the Methodist membership was entirely out of proportion to its small segment of the population and gave assurance of a development with increased ratio. Strangely enough for many years to come this potency was channeled from this time forward through avenues other than those of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

#### GENESEE CONFERENCE ORGANIZED BY BISHOPS ASBURY AND MCKENDREE

In 1810 Northeastern Pennsylvania was incorporated in a new conference, 29 the Genesee, which convened for its first session in Lyons, N. Y., on July 20. It was organized and presided over jointly by the two sole bishops of the time, Francis Asbury and Wm. McKendree. Although the decision to form this conference was heartily concurred in by the latter it was fundamentally the result of considerable deliberation on the part of the former who had been traveling for many years in this general region. It had for some time been the conviction<sup>30</sup> of Asbury that ministers should not be required to travel long distances from their charges to the seat of the conference both because of the burden such travel imposed upon them and because the time involved in attending the sessions of conference invaded the time they should devote to their work. The action taken in setting up the new conference was, according to Dr. Peck, "severely criticized," although he gives several cogent reasons in support of it. Bishop Asbury was aware of the censure to which he especially was subjected. However, he exhonorated himself by asserting that "the appointment of the Genesee conference was one of the most judicious acts of our episcopacy." It is unquestionable that the bishops acted within their prerogatives in creating new conferences according to the law of the church as it then stood. The fact that the General Conference two years later withdrew this power from the bishops may be a commentary upon what the bishops had done in a particular case.

One need not question the propriety of organizing the Genesee conference as far as the major part of the territory involved was concerned. It may even be that for the total economy of the church and its efficient administration it was necessary to include all of the charges that at first constituted the conference. At the beginning its three districts and thirty circuits embraced a vast region that extended from Northumberland in the heart of Pennsylvania to Detroit in Michigan, and sprawled over Central and Western New York besides including several charges in Canada. Obviously it was a disservice to all persons and interests concerned to require or expect the preachers from the distant points to attend the annual sessions of the conferences in Philadelphia, especially when the conditions of travel were what they were. On the other hand it was an arbitrary action that warped Northeastern Pennsylvania into the new arrangement and did violence to the very policy Asbury had announced of having the seat of a conference within reasonable traveling distance of the charges. It was, with rare exceptions, farther for the preachers at Northumberland, Wyoming, Canaan and other later circuits to go to the sessions of the Genesee conference than it would have been for them to attend the Philadelphia conference, and sometimes very much farther. It was also contrary to certain principles that the good bishop may not have sensed or adequately weighed. The normal routes of travel as well as channels of thought ran toward Philadelphia. To wrench these charges out from Pennsylvania was to tear them away from an established relationship that had its significance and value and to ignore the more direct impact of the church upon the civic life of the political division within which it is located. It may be reasoned that Northeastern Pennsylvania included only a part of the Susquehanna district, one half of whose charges were within New York, and that when the district became a portion of the new conference the whole district should go along. But that is a form of reasoning that follows the lines of least resistance for in the earlier years frequent alterations were made in the constituency of a district. The preservation of a district in its entirety ought not to have weighed against the other more vital principles involved. By the year 1810 these reasons should have been fairly considered by people who were moved by patriotism as well as piety. It is not a matter for wonder that the arbitrary action of placing Northeastern Pennsylvania in the fold of Western New York was at least a part of the "severe criticism" that was leveled at Francis Asbury.

In going from the Genesee conference Asbury and his companions passed down the Susquehanna. The only identifiable points he mentions in the upper section are Tioga Point and Capt. Clark's. One incident of which he made note was that, "Brother Boehm was thrown from the sulky, but, providentially, not a bone was broken." Henry Boehm, 31 a member of the Philadelphia conference, who was officially appointed to "travel with Bishop Asbury" for four years, beginning with 1809, informs us that "We had the company of . . . Anning Owen, the apostle of Methodism in Wyoming, who was not only good company but a good guide."

## Northeastern Pennsylvania Placed in the New Genesee Conference

When in 1810 the Susquehanna<sup>32</sup> district was made a unit of the Genesee conference it encompassed approximately one-fourth of Pennsylvania and one-third of the state of New York, reaching from points north of Utica and Rochester to Northumberland and Lycoming counties. Its ten circuits, five of which were in Pennsylvania, had as presiding elder Gideon Draper. For the year 1810-11 the preachers in charge at Wyoming were Thomas Wright and Elijah Metcalf; at Canaan, George Harmon and Samuel Thompson, and at Tioga, Loring Grant and Joseph Kinkead. Our information about Wright<sup>33</sup> and Metcalf,<sup>34</sup> both of whom entered the itinerancy the previous year, is very meager. Wright is credited with a dozen years in the effective ministry. His service was interrupted by a location for the years 1815-18 and ceased when he took a permanent location in 1825. It is thought that he stayed at Wyoming for only part of the year and was succeeded by Benjamin Bidlack. There is no report on Metcalf's work at Wyoming, and very little besides. He was not listed in 1812. A year later he located.

Of the two preachers on the Canaan circuit only the briefest mention is made of Thompson<sup>35</sup> who at the age of twenty-five was this year received on trial. The following year he was appointed to Tioga but was located in 1812. By way of contrast George Harmon<sup>36</sup> proved to be superior both as to the length and the character of his service. Entering the ministry in 1807, he received appointments continuously until he retired in 1847, with the exception of the years 1818 and 1819 when as a supernumerary he supplied the Ithaca charge. Fourteen of his years were spent as the presiding elder of four different districts. Beginning in the Philadelphia conference, he automatically became a member of the Genesee conference in 1810 and of the Oneida conference when it was organized in 1829, in which latter conference he finished his career.

It may be assumed that the Canaan circuit at this time included substantially the same preaching places as previously given. Late in life Mr. Harmon furnished Dr. Peck with a sketch of his work on the charge during this year, which showed that he visited at least nine preaching places in New York and three or four new points in Pennsylvania. He formed a class at Bethany where preaching

had already been established, one at Cherry Ridge, one at the mouth of the Lackawaxen, and another a few miles west of Belmont, which would bring it into the town of Herrick, Susquehanna county. The prevailing family name at Lackawaxen was Barnes.

In spite of the fact that the preachers received as a stipend only \$49.50 for their labors for an entire year and had to submit to many hardships when routes and means of travel were elemental and hospitality was meagre and uninviting, Mr. Harmon had the faculty of being resourceful as well as of seeing the brighter side of the situations he met. At Bethany where he appointed as class leader Joseph Miller, the sheriff of Wayne county, he learned that the Baptists had sent for a minister of their own and purposed to break up the Methodist class. In view of this report Mr. Harmon arranged with a local preacher to take his other appointments while he remained in town for a week. As the case worked out the Baptist preacher did not come and Mr. Harmon "had a fine revival and received into the society a number more."

After forming the class at Cherry Ridge the minister was invited by Mrs. Collins, whose husband was a physician, to enjoy the hospitality of the Collins home. When the doctor arrived home his wife facetiously remarked, "I have invited Mr. Harmon to put up with us, and I hope you will not insult him." The doctor replied in the same vein, "When the king is absent the queen makes the laws." Joining in the repartee Mr. Harmon said, "Well, then, I hope the king will not abrogate what the queen has done in this case," to which the doctor added, "No, indeed, sir."

At Cherry Ridge Mr. Harmon used the text, "Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die." Among those present was a Presbyterian missionary who interpreted the discourse as designed to controvert the doctrine of the final perseverance of the saints. Having been invited by the preacher to speak, he advanced the analogy that divine grace in the soul is comparable to leaven in meal, the leaven being a new factor independent of the meal. After the missionary had finished Mr. Harmon arose and, addressing an elderly woman, asked, "Mother, can you make leaven without meal?" When she replied, "Well, I think it would be poor stuff," she was further asked, "Well, mother, what becomes of your bread when it is made?" The prompt response was, "We eat it when it is good, but when it is sour or becomes mouldy we give it to the hogs."

On returning to Pennsylvania from a preaching tour in New York Mr. Harmon arrived at Milford where he inquired for "the most respectable family in town" and was directed to a certain home where he introduced himself. Gladly accepting an invitation to preach in this home, he was welcomed by a good congregation. At the close of the service Mr. Harmon informed the company that he would be passing through the community once in four weeks, and that,

if they desired to have him preach for them, he would do so on one condition which was that they "would provide him with respectable lodgings and keep his horse." The conditions were mutually approved and were kept as far as the preacher's part was concerned. However, the people plainly defaulted. The records show that at the end of the year only \$2.25 was turned in by way of meeting their pledge!

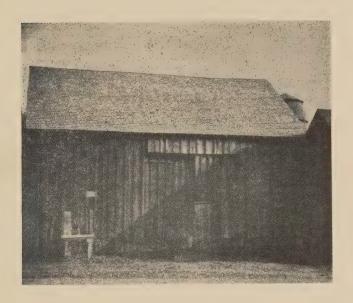
Joseph Kinkead<sup>37</sup> who at the age of twenty-four was placed on the Tioga circuit was received on trial at the conference session from which he was appointed. In 1814 he transferred to the Ohio conference but located three years later. In contrast to this record the career of Loring Grant<sup>38</sup> was long and distinguished. Having been admitted to conference in 1809, he served twenty-seven years in the effective relation during which he served four years as presiding elder on the Buffalo district and three on the Genesee. Retiring in 1836 he survived to an advanced age. Dr. Peck in his Early Methodism acknowledges valuable material that was furnished him by "the venerable Loring Grant."

Grant's reminiscences, narrated half a century after some of the incidents he describes, presumably should be taken at their face value, even when they are at variance from the data furnished by the General Minutes. The latter plainly indicate that Grant was appointed to Northumberland in 1809. Yet he served at least part of this year at Tioga prior to his being sent to that circuit from the conference session that was held at Lyons in July, 1810. Whether this earlier service at Tioga was in substitution for either Elliott or Thomas, the two men who had been appointed to that charge in 1809, does not appear. Besides the questions that arise in this connection is another that has to do with the identity of his colleague in the year that he, in agreement with the Minutes, states he was one of the preachers on this circuit. He does not mention Joseph Kinkead but does speak of Palmer Roberts who, according to the Minutes, was not received on trial till the following year when he was appointed to Lyons. Conceivably Roberts at this time was a licensed local preacher who was looking forward to conference membership and was just now doing supply work.

In Grant's written statement to Dr. Peck he failed to mention any of what would seem to be the primary objectives of his ministry in the period to which he referred but did give rather vivid sketches of the incidental experiences through which he passed while covering the vast territory that constituted the Tioga circuit. Taking up his narrative as he proceeded to and within Pennsylvania we read:

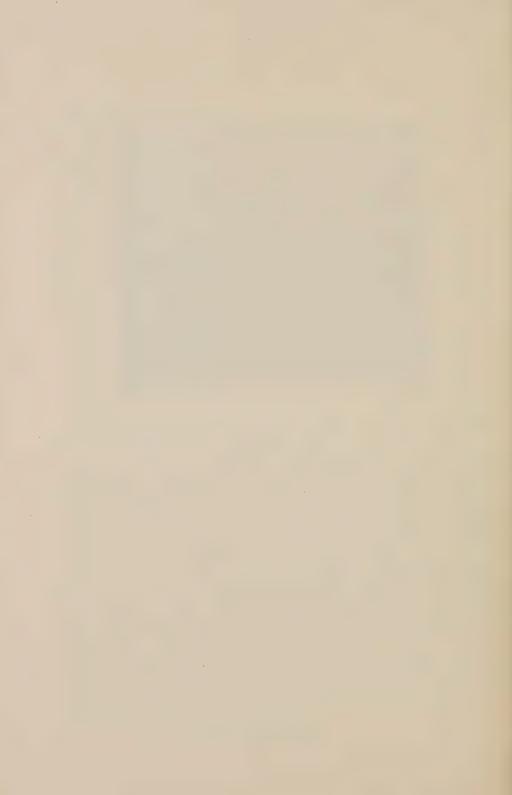
"From this place I went near Owego (N. Y.), where I met my colleague, and in a little canoe that might have been carried on a man's shoulder, Palmer Roberts and myself started down the river (Susquehanna), to an appointment, the wind blowing like a tornado, threatening to engulf us; but Brother Roberts sung the familiar lines:

'Sometimes temptation blows A dreadful hurricane, etc.';



#### BARN NEAR BROOKLYN, PA., WHERE BISHOP ASBURY PREACHED IN 1811

Under date of Aug. 1, 1811, Bishop Asbury in his Journal wrote: "At Brother Paine's I preach and administer the Lord's supper." Chaffee, (History of the Wyoming Conference, p. 463), states that the text, which Asbury did not name, was I Sam. 15:14, "And Samuel said, What meaneth then this bleating of the sheep in mine ears, and the lowing of the oxen which I hear?" The conference historian gives the added information that the barn in which the bishop preached was later removed to another location and was enlarged by the section partly shown at the right of the picture herewith presented, which was taken in 1941. The large doors opened to the "auditorium." Continuing, Chaffee wrote: "In 1888 Mr. Edward L. Paine, son of Rev. Edward Paine, who owned the barn at the time Bishop Asbury preached in it, was a delegate to the General Conference from the Wisconsin conference, and the oldest layman in the body, being eighty-seven years old. He stated on the conference floor that he heard the bishop preach the sermon, and was greatly moved by it." Paine gave his age as being thirteen at the time of the incident, placing it in 1814. This must be an error for there is no evidence in the bishop's Journal that he was there present in that year. True there is an hiatus in the Journal of twelve weeks in the early summer of 1814, because Asbury was too ill to write. He was also too ill to travel. It is reasonable to assume that Edward L. Paine's memory as to the text was correct inasmuch as it had affected his life for more than three quarters of a century, but that it was incorrect as to his age when the bishop preached in his father's barn. The one visit to Paine's recorded in the Journal was made Aug. 1, 1811.



and at length sung out, 'Brother Grant, you paddle and I'll pray.' We finally succeeded in making land, which we had but little expected. Our circuit led us over the mountains on to the waters of Wyalusing Creek, and at Brother Canfield's we found a most hearty welcome. One night I recollect being in company with a young Methodist preacher, Mrs. Grant with her little babe being with us, the night dark, so much so as to be able almost to feel it. The roads never having been leveled, or the old logs removed, we worked our way on, lifting our wagon over stumps and logs, and sometimes in the greatest danger; one going before and leading the forward horse, the other jumping from side to side to keep, if possible, the wagon right side up, Mrs. Grant in the meanwhile in the back end on a side saddle. So we kept on until we broke the thills, when each took a horse, one carrying the babe, the other Mrs. Grant, till some time before day we met a hearty welcome from one of the brothers Canfield. Although he was awakened a little earlier than usual, yet he received us gladly.

"On the creek lived a brother Ezekiel Brown, one of the firmest friends of the itinerant. Those were the days when, if we had greater toils than now, we had warmer friends. Near this, in the winter of 1810-11, in crossing the creek, or river, from our friend Luckey's . . . the water was running over the ice like water from the tail of a mill; suddenly my horse fell through the ice without a moment's warning, yet I was enabled to leap from my horse to the ice, portmanteau in hand, holding to my bridle. My horse was several times carried under the ice, the water running swiftly, about ten feet deep; but speaking quick to him, and at the same time pulling with the bridle, he would breast the current. At length he seemed to swell up, and threw his fore feet upon the ice, and, with the blessing of God upon the efforts employed, out he came. The call for help brought the neighbors some time after the horse was safe on terra firma, and my portmanteau well filled with water. Of course my effects were well drenched and my books spoiled."

Mr. Grant described himself as being "only twenty-one years of age, having the charge of a circuit four hundred miles around, with thirty preaching places, over the rivers, and the hills, and far away."

Referring to a signal achievement of this early period of his ministry, Loring Grant sets forth an incident that has already been mentioned. In his own language,

"At Old Sheshequin (Ulster), at the house of Captain Clark, I preached, and on one occasion there was a lad of about sixteen, or a little rising, by the name of H. B. Bascom, to hear me preach, and during the sermon wept much; in the class meeting he professed conversion, and joined the church as a probationer. But it was not until the General Conference of 1828, at Pittsburgh, that I knew that the green boy that I took into church at Captain Clark's was the man of world-wide popularity. This I learned from himself."

The lad had entered the Methodist ministry and in the course of time had become one of the outstanding bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

At the close of the current year the membership on the respective circuits was: Wyoming, 377, a gain of 14; Canaan, 273, a gain of 50; and Tioga, 443 white and 4 colored, a gain of 50 whites and 4 colored.

#### THE SECOND YEAR WITH THE GENESEE CONFERENCE

The second session<sup>39</sup> of the Genesee conference assemblied in Paris, N. Y., Saturday, July 20, 1811, Bishop McKendree presiding, and Bishop Asbury attending. After the adjournment on the ensuing Friday the bishops took a course southerly, and on the last day of the month "found shelter from the rain under the hospitable roof of Lawyer Cattin" (Catlin). Continuing the account of their travels for a few days from Catlin's in Great Bend, Pa., we read:

"Thursday, August 1. At Brother Paine's I preached and administered the Lord's Supper. My right foot is lame. Friday, we came along the pleasant banks of Tochannock (Tunkhannock Creek). My lame horse grew worse. We stopped at Dickson's, where I gave ninety dollars for a mare to supply the place of poor Spark, which I sold for twenty dollars; when about to start he whickered after us; it went to my heart—poor slave; how much toil has he patiently endured for me! We rested a few minutes at father Holmes', on our way to Keeler's ferry. We lodged at father Sutton's (near Pittston). I limped about, sung, talked and prayed. Dear McKendree seemed to be in low spirits. Saturday, came to Kingston, and thence to Wyoming, stopping at Mr. Shumacker's (Shoemaker's). We have made a journey of twelve hundred miles since leaving New York. My consolations exceedingly abound in God, though my sufferings be great. The eight conferences have furnished us with twenty-five dollars each, making two hundred dollars; our expenses hitherto are one hundred and thirty dollars."

### Asbury's Journal continues:

"PENNSYLVANIA.—Sabbath, 4. Preached at the Methodistico-Presbyterian church at Kingston; it was a time of freedom, and words were given me to speak which were felt by preachers and people. I also preached at Wilkesbarre, (sic,) and had a liberal season. We were invited to Judge Fell's, and were treated kindly. Monday we rode thirty-five mils to Mervin's,"

where he had stopped before on the way to Allentown. Very likely it was at the time of this trip that Stephen Wilson, a lad of about ten years, ferried Bishop Asbury across the Susquehanna between Kingston and Wilkes-Barre. In a letter<sup>40</sup> which Wilson in 1887 at the age of eighty-five wrote to his niece he stated that his father Elnathan Wilson leased the old ferry house in 1811. In the letter he declared that,

"Sometimes I used to earn a little money by rowing a traveler over the river. One day I ferried a venerable looking man. He put his hand on my head and pronounced a blessing on the flaxon-haired boy who had brought him safely across. He was Bishop Asbury of the Methodist church."

Boehm,<sup>41</sup> who was Asbury's official companion in these years, adds a few details in connection with the bishop's visitation in the Wyoming Valley. He informs us that in addition to Bishop Asbury and himself was Bishop McKendree, besides Gideon Draper, "who was then a young man." Bishop Asbury carried his crutches with him and suffered so much with the pain in his leg that they had to stop at a house and get vinegar with which to bathe it. They

"reached Kingston and put up with Elijah Shomakers." Boehm further states,

"On Sunday morning the Methodists in Kingston had a rich treat; Bishop Asbury preached on the Pharisee and the publican in his own peculiar style; Bishop McK\_\_\_\_\_\_preached immediately after from I Cor. 1:23-24, on preaching Christ crucified and the effects of such preaching upon different hearers. At five o'clock Bishop Asbury preached at Wilkesbarre from II Cor. 6:1-2. 'We then are workers together, etc.'"

For the year 1811-12 Gideon Draper was continued on the Susquehanna district, thus completing a three-year term. This was in face of an action<sup>42</sup> which read, "Resolved, that the chair inform Bro. Draper that the 'Conferance', (sic,) thinks he is not so solemn and profitable as he ought to be, and that he manifests too great a wish to accumulate money." The preachers appointed were: at Wyoming, Noah Bigelow and William Brown; at Canaan, John Kimberlin; and at Tioga, John Wilson and Samuel Thompson. The record<sup>43</sup> of the achievements of these men for this year is not impressive although there was a gain of 27 white members and one colored one at Wyoming, and of 41 whites, which was partly offset by a decrease of two colored members at Tioga. Meanwhile there was a significant decrease of 147 in the membership of the Canaan circuit.

It is very possible that illness prevented Kimberlin from traveling this year as the Canaan steward's book has no entry of quarterage paid to him, whereas Thompson, who may have substituted for him, did receive quarterage. Kimberlin may have had disabilities of some sort, judging from the number of times in subsequent years that he alternated between the effective and the supernumerary or superannunated relation with the conference. Nevertheless, of the five men it was only Kimberlin who continued in the ministry for an appreciable length of time. Brief sketches of his career as well as of Thompson's have already been given, the former having been at Tioga in 1808 and the latter at Canaan in 1810. Bigelow<sup>44</sup> was received on trial in the New York conference in 1810, immediately appointed to Ontario in the Genesee conference, but located in 1812. Brown<sup>45</sup> was received into the New York conference in 1809, was sent to Herkimer, Genesee conference, the following year, but took a location in 1817, and ultimately was listed as a superannuate in the Canada conference. Wilson<sup>46</sup> joined the Philadelphia conference in 1809, transferred to the Genesee when he came to Tioga, but located two years later.

At Brooklyn,<sup>47</sup> which for some time was served by the Canaan preachers, the following persons were members of the class in 1811: Edward Paine, the leader; Charlotte Paine, Hannah Milbourn, Silas Lewis, Orlando Bagley, Dorcas Bagley, Betsy Saunders, Jacob, Mary, Isaac and Judith Tewksbury, Abagail and Mary Saunders, Isaac and Millicent Sterling, Nancy Seeley, Dorcas Bagley, Jr., Jacob Worthing, Sally Fuller, John and Alden Seeley, Polly Catlin, Jesse and Polly Bagley, Jonathan Tewksbury, Josiah and Eliza Crofoot, Alice Lathrop, Varnum Saunders, Dolly Bagley, Betsy Tewksbury, Polly Seeley, Sabra Tingley,

Stephen and Mary Bagley, Samuel and Huldah Yeomans, Sheffield Saunders, Thomas Bagley, William Sterling, Lucinda Fuller and Jonathan Worthing. Meetings were held in the home of Jacob Tewksbury until the erection of a church building.

Meetings were held in January and in June, 1812, at which plans were adopted looking toward the building of a church edifice. The persons who were selected for the promotion of the enterprise were: Jesse Bagley, Edward Paine, Zoar Tewksbury, Joshua Miles, Jr., and Thomas Sterling. The church came into use probably in the following year.

#### HARMON ON THE DISTRICT—BIBBINS AT WYOMING

On account of the hostilities between the United States and Canada the third session of the Genesee conference<sup>48</sup> was held in Lyons, N. Y., instead of in Niagara, which was in Upper Canada, assembling on Thursday, July 23, 1812. Bishop McKendree presided, Bishop Asbury being associated with him. The conference funds allowed only \$49 for the support of single preachers and \$118 for the married men, whether there were children in the family or not. After the adjournment of the conference Bishop Asbury appears as both historian and prophet as he moves through familiar scenes. Thus he inscribed in his Journal:

"PENNSYLVANIA.—Sunday, August 2. We rest at Joshua Kenney's, (Black) Walnut Bottom. My congregation might amount to one hundred. Our host was a whisky maker; but now it is a house of God. In all my weakness I am kept in perfect peace. Yesterday I visited, conversed, and prayed with Mr. Ourton's family, the wife and mother: the people are serious, but the head is a man of the world. For forty years past we have preached the gospel from the mouth to the branches, and up them, of the great river Susquehanna; the fruit of our labor has begun to appear within the last five years; we shall see it yet more abundant.

"Monday, 3. We came away to John Smith's, and continued onward to father Smith's, but came in too late for meeting. Thursday, 4. We dined at father Bidlack's, and went forward to Wilkesbarre. The court was sitting, and a meeting was expected. My subject was, 'Knowing the terror of the Lord we persuade men.' They gave me the court room."

George Harmon whose success on the Canaan circuit two years earlier has been discussed, now began the sixth year of his itinerancy and the first year of a three-year term as the presiding elder<sup>49</sup> of the Susquehanna district. He is represented<sup>50</sup> as one of those resourceful pioneers who helped to establish Methodism by the thoroughness of his ministry. In an age of religious controversies he was persuasive in argument when confronted by the proponents of Calvinism or of immersionism.

John Kimberlin, recently of Canaan, and Elisha Bibbins were assigned to the Wyoming circuit for 1812-13. Although Kimberlin<sup>51</sup> is described as being a large and muscular man and possessed of some intellectual power, his appearance evidently belied certain inherent infirmities which were real impediments

in his ministry. A modern psychiatrist would doubtless analyze this man's retiring attitude and his unsocial and even crusty manners as due to physical or mental infirmities, or both. They would also say that he was simply rationalizing when in response to suggestions that he should call on people he plead the Scripture passage, "Go not from house to house." He was easily disturbed by children. Once when preaching in Plymouth the cry of a child caused him to stop, run his fingers through his hair and exclaim, "I would as lief be in a hornets' nest as among crying children!" Especially in his early ministry he was guilty of affectation in his preaching and used bombastic expressions. For many years people recalled the opening words of one of his sermons, which ran like this: "I have a physical evil in my organic structure; I must, therefore, avoid prolixity and study compenderosity." He was equally eccentric in his church administration. Some misunderstanding having arisen at Pittston, he burned the class record and informed the members that they were turned out of the church. However, he agreed to reinstate them, if they would promise to conduct themselves as Methodists and Christians. Yet in spite of these phases of his character he was powerful in the pulpit and left lasting impressions among the people.

Bibbins,<sup>52</sup> or, as his name appears in the General Minutes, Bebins, began his ministry when he was this year received on trial and appointed to Wyoming. Skeletal data concerning his career show that he was born in Hampton, N. Y., July 16, 1790, was converted on Nov. 8, 1805, and died in Scranton, Pa., July 6, 1859. His effective ministry covered eleven continuous years during which he served eight different charges, including Wyoming (twice), Bridgewater, Wyalusing (twice), and Canaan. Between 1823 and the close of his life Bibbins spent three years as a supernumerary, serving as a supply, was a superannuate for thirty-one years, and meantime was an "effective" preacher for the years 1832 and 1836. During one of the intermittent periods in which he was a superannuate he in 1829 became a member of the Oneida conference on its organization. When the Wyoming conference was formed in 1852 he automatically became one of its charter members. Throughout the time of his technical retirement he rendered much valuable assistance both in supplying pulpits and otherwise.

Elisha Bibbins is described as a man of good natural ability and possessed of quick perception and vigorous reasoning faculties. Wit and humor, sometimes interspersed with sarcasm, contributed to the effectiveness both of his preaching and of his personal relations. People were impressed with the intense earnestness of the man, a characteristic that enabled him to have almost overwhelming power in his sermons, prayers and exhortations. To his other attributes were added a melting eloquence and a voice that was pleasing in spoken utterance as well as in song. His was a nervous temperament that dwelt in a body of medium size. The intensity of his nature consumed the forces of his

body, abbreviated the years of his active ministry and ultimately terminated his life with sudden death. The summation of his career is to be found in the many accessions to the churches touched by his ministry, and in the number of recruits he secured for the Christian ministry.

When Dr. Peck was preparing his "Early Methodism" Elisha Bibbins furnished him a written account<sup>53</sup> of the Wyoming circuit of 1812-13, giving the location of a score of preaching places together with some vivid sketches of his experiences while traveling throughout its bounds. The starting point was Newport, some ten miles below Wilkes-Barre, where a small class met in a school house near the home of Jonathan Smith, the class leader. Smith had a brother Martin, who was also a member of the class, At Wilkes-Barre there was another class, which though small, included "some daring veterans of the cross," among whom were "Mothers Gridley and George." The former was modest and retiring, yet firm and courageous. Mrs. George was a Yorkshire English woman who volunteered her services as a steward, and who was most effective in collecting funds both from church members and from non-members. "Father George's" home was generous in its hospitality to preachers. John Kimberlin especially enjoyed it because there were no children in it. Besides he delighted in Mrs. George's coffee. The third and fourth preaching places were in Pittston and Providence, From the latter place a footpath was followed over the mountain to the mouth of the Tunkhannock creek, which Bibbins called eleven miles but which would be fifteen to eighteen miles by air line. Crossing the Susquehanna it was his custom to meet his colleague, John Kimberlin, at the home either of the Rev. John Wilson or of the Rev. Newton Smith, whose places of residence he did not disclose. The latter presumably was a local preacher. The former who may be the identical John Wilson who was at Tioga the previous year, possibly had taken a location by now although he was listed for Bloomfield in 1812. It appears that these ministers lived in the same neighborhood and that here the two circuit riders had a bi-weekly rendezvous. Bibbins explains that on such occasions one or the other was expected to preach. Invariably the task fell upon him because Kimberlin was exceedingly diffident and "suffered intolerably from the blues."

Proceeding up the Tunkhannock creek, the next appointment was at Stark Settlement. Thence the route was "over hills and through narrow vales to what was then called Hopbottom, now Brooklyn, or, as some of the people would have it, Hopping Bottom. The former name, Hopbottom, was given to the place probably in reference to the great quantity of hops that grew in that region, and afterward the suffix *ing* was added as illustrative of the manner in which the Methodists exhibited their joy, in times of the outpouring of the Spirit, in leaping up and down." At Brooklyn Bibbins' host was Edward Paine, a very devout man. Here was a prosperous society whose members "not only expressed their

joy by loud shouts of triumph, but some of them would leap for joy." After meeting an engagement at the Crowfoot Settlement, some eight miles below Great Bend, Bibbins returned to Brooklyn. The next three places were Springville, Lyman's Settlement and Meshoppen.

To reach the last named appointment it was necessary to ford the Meshoppen creek. Relating one instance of visiting Meshoppen Mr. Bibbins wrote:

"I remember in the month of March, 1813, while on my way to my appointment, I came to the creek and found the water very high, and after hiding some distance through the water I reached the east bank of the creek, and found a large body of ice on which I could stand free from the water. The water was too deep and swift to undertake to ride my horse through. This threw me into a quandary for a few moments. But I was soon relieved. I found three boards on the upper point of the island of ice on which I was standing. I took the longest one and ran it up the stream, and with the aid of the current succeeded in lodging the farther end of it on the end of a tree or log that projected into the stream from the other side of the creek. Then I put out the remaining two boards, and making me a long leader of my bridle, girths and halter, and having carried my saddle across on the bridge which I had prepared, I went back to commence the perilous undertaking of getting my horse across. I then took my long halter and passed down among the trees to the ford, and then commanded my horse to come to me, and at the word he plunged into the turbid stream, and by our combined efforts he came safely over."

Resuming the itinerary the preacher visited the neighborhood of Captain Kinney in the town of Baintrim, after which he went up the Tuscarora creek to the "neighborhood of Father Cogswell's." About a mile and a half up the river from the mouth of Tuscarora creek was George Hall's, which very likely was at Laceyville. This was the point farthest up the Susquehanna in the Wyoming circuit for the next place mentioned was down stream at Hunt's Ferry, Mehoopany. Digressing now from the river the preacher came to the section where lived a local preacher, Samuel Carver, for whom Carverton was named. Concerning this man Bibbins wrote:

"He was a bright and shining light wherever he was known. Brother Carver was one of the mighty hunters of those days. Hence he often brought in savory meat, such as bears and 'coons. Now my colleague had an implacable aversion to 'coon's flesh. It so happened that on one occasion, about the time that Sister Carver had prepared a dinner of 'coon's flesh, Brother Kimberlin came in, and of course seated himself at the table with the family, asking no questions. . . . He ate most heartily, when about the close of the repast Sister Carver inquired how he liked the meat. He replied, 'Very much.' She then informed him that he had been eating 'coon's flesh, and, with the muscles of his face distorted he exclaimed, 'Sister Carver, why did you do so?' and it was with some difficulty she could pacify him for the deception she had practiced upon him."

Next in order came Kingston, Plymouth and the Harris Settlement. At Plymouth resided George Lane who now was in the mercantile business. At this place an active society included some of the best women Mr. Bibbins had ever known.

Mentioning particularly Mesdames Harvey, Wooley, Turner and Hodge, he asserted that, if it had not been for the encouragement given by these fine women and Mr. Lane, he would have turned back from his work and gone home. The Harris Settlement was over the mountain from Kingston, where the preachers sometimes went as a few Methodist families resided there. In concluding his recital Mr. Bibbins mentioned the Slocum home in Wilkes-Barre as known for its hospitality to preachers, and added that to the best of his recollections there was a small class at Plains, which he described as being "four miles up the river from Wilkes-Barre." In Providence the home of an elderly man by the name of Ireland was a stopping place for itinerants.

Bibbins made no reference to Nanticoke by name as it was not incorporated till late in the century. In his day Nanticoke presumably was identified with the work in Newport which Bibbins gives as the starting point of the Wyoming circuit. He mentions two brothers by the name of Smith as members of the Newport class, one of whom was the class leader. Chaffee,<sup>54</sup> in his treatment of Nanticoke, says: "It is believed that a class was formed here about 1812, composed of David and Susan Thompson, Martha and Priscilla Lee, Mary Miller, Richard Keithline, Hannah E. Stiles, James and William Thompson and Elizabeth Mills."

Methodist work in the northwest corner of Wyoming county is touched upon by both Bishop Asbury and Elisha Bibbins. When the bishop speaks of Blackwalnut Bottom he is not referring to a point on the map but to a stretch of low land along the Susquehanna, part of which is in the town of Braintrim which gave its name to the location of one of Bibbins' appointments. The bishop tells of halting at the home of Joshua Kenney at "Walnut Bottom." Bibbins writes of preaching "at Braintrim, in the neighborhood of Captain Kinney's." It may be assumed that "Kenney" and "Kinney" are one and the same, or, better yet, "Keeney" as given by Chaffee<sup>55</sup> who states that meetings were held in this vicinity as early as 1810 and that "about 1812 a class was formed in the house of Joshua Keeney at Blackwalnut, and preaching services held there for years." Blackwalnut Bottom, Skinner's Eddy at the mouth of Tuscarora Creek, and Laceyville are all closley associated in the little township of Braintrim which flanks on the river.

For the Canaan circuit the appointees who were sent from the conference of 1812 were Loring Grant and Orrin Doolittle. The latter, who was admitted to the Genesee conference one year earlier, completed twenty-four years in the ministry before retiring in 1835. During the years of 1829 and 1830 he was temporarily in the Oneida conference. In 1844 he withdrew from the ministry. Salem, now Hamlin, was the head of the Canaan circuit at this time. The steward's book of 1812 furnishes these names that had been added to the original list previously given: Luther, Polly, Prudence, Jabez, Oren and Sally Bidwell,

Sophia Curtis, Sally Hamlin, Lucena Wright, Polley and Joel Potter, Hannah Wheatcraft, Henry and Lucy Avery, Adrial and Achsah Andrews, Samuel Harford, John Andrews, Lucy Andrews, Lamira Avery and Benjamin Harrison.

On the Tioga circuit in the current year we find Marmaduke Pearce and Abraham Dawson. Pearce,<sup>57</sup> who descended from a long line of intrepid Irish ancestors, was born at Paoli, Pa., July 18, 1776, and died probably in Wilkes-Barre on August 11, 1852. He united with the church when thirty-two years of age, and was received into the Genesee conference three years later. When certain charges of that conference became a part of the Baltimore conference he found himself within the latter, where he remained until 1833, at which time he became a member of the Oneida conference. In Northeastern Pennsylvania his year at Tioga was followed by a year at Wyoming, where he was again in 1819. He also was presiding elder of the Susquehanna district from 1815 to 1818 inclusive, and was stationed at Pittston in 1834. As a supernumerary he supplied Wyoming in 1835 and Wilkes-Barre in 1836. While in the Baltimore conference, also, he was presiding elder for four years. On the organization of the Wyoming conference, July 7, 1852, Mr. Pearce automatically became a member of it just before his death.

Marmaduke Pearce was a man who cannot be dismissed by the mere mention of his name and an outline of his career. He was a robust personality albeit he was entirely unpretentious. In intellectual power he was far above the average. Given to the study of books, the foremost writings, he was said to be a better interpreter of the theme of what he studied than were the books themselves. Moreover, having a retentive mind, he was able to give a good account of his studies, and was an able critic of subjects that related to speech. "As a preacher he had few equals." Normally unemotional, nevertheless at times he would sweep all before him with his impassioned eloquence. His religious life was marked by piety and prayer. However, late in his life he had a severe struggle with the suggestions of infidentity at a time when he also had distressing physical afflictions. Emerging again and again from these distresses of body and mind, he ultimately achieved complete victory.

The membership<sup>58</sup> report at the end of 1812-13 is not inspiring upon the face of it, although on the Canaan circuit the numbers increased 71, reaching a total of 197. But this was not equal to the 273 members two years earlier. In spite of the valiant efforts of Kimberlin and Bibbins at Wyoming there was a net decrease of 41, dropping the count down to 363 white and one colored members. On the Tioga circuit there was a decline of nearly 55% in the enrollment, dropping from 484 white and two colored members to a net of 217 whites. This drop in membership at Tioga can be accounted for largely or entirely by the fact that the Broome circuit was formed this year, taking very much of the northeastern portion of the Tioga circuit, especially in New York. It should be recognized,

however, that membership numbers do not constitute the sole criteria by which the effectiveness of ministers may be measured. Merely to retain the same relative position may in itself be an achievement particularly when the opposing forces intensify their negative attitude toward the church and its teachings. It is sometimes a mark of accomplishment for ministers to sustain a high moral tone in a community by a vigorous preachment against the prevailing evils of society, apart from any purely evangelistic movement.

The proximity of the newly formed Broome circuit, which took its name from Broome county, N. Y., resulted in an invasion of Susquehanna county, Pa. Thus it was that Elijah King who was the preacher in charge of this circuit in 1812-13 organized a class at Gibson<sup>59</sup> where Christopher Frye while serving Wyoming in 1806 had delivered the first Methodist sermon in the place, but had not followed up his preaching with any organization.

# Alterations in Circuits—Bridgewater the Fourth Circuit—Owens' Death

Westmoreland, N. Y., eight or ten miles west of Utica, was the scene of the fourth session of the Genesee conference<sup>60</sup> which met Friday, July 9, 1813, and adjourned the following Tuesday. The enfeebled Asbury shared with Bishop McKendree in the preaching, the administration and the responsibilities of the session. Among those received into membership was Israel Cook,<sup>61</sup> of the Wyoming circuit, the entry being made that he is "aged about twenty-five years, zealous and promises usefulness." It was rather natural that this young man was named as one of the preachers on the Lycoming circuit, a charge within the Susquehanna district in which he originated and over which George Harmon was made the presiding elder for the second year. A new name appears in the list of eleven circuits constituting the district, namely, Bridgewater, whose preaching places had formerly been within the northern part of the Wyoming circuit. Wyoming,<sup>62</sup> now, in 1813-14 was reduced from the unwieldly charge described by Mr. Bibbins to a circuit that could be covered by one man in two weeks.

The new man on the old charge was Marmaduke Pearce, lately of Tioga, who proved to be abundant and fruitful in labors, although the elimination of the northern preaching places greatly affected the membership report at the close of the year, which showed a decline from 363 whites and one colored to 192 white members. One of the achievements of the year was the establishment of a class and regular preaching services at Stoddartsville<sup>63</sup> at the extreme eastern rim of the circuit a dozen and a half miles over the mountain from Wilkes-Barre on the route to Stroudsburg. This was occasioned by the receipt by Mr. Pearce of an invitation to visit the place subsequent to the coming of two local preachers to Stoddartsville from Delaware, Caleb and Robert Kendall. An outcome of all of this, and an important event of the year was the conversion of

Gilbert Barnes who for many years was class leader and Sunday school superintendent in Wilkes-Barre, and even served as sexton there. That he might perform these duties he traveled afoot each Sunday morning from his home over the mountain.

At Canaan Joseph Hickcox,<sup>64</sup> or Hickok, and Robert Minshall<sup>65</sup> were the appointees this year. The former's ministerial career began the previous year but did not continue long. Within a short period he received appointments in Canada where he located in 1820. Minshall, who entered the itinerancy this year, was a superannuate in 1817, '18 and '19, became effective in 1820, and as one of the pastors at Lycoming went with that charge into the Baltimore conference where he remained until his decease on July 15, 1828. His death occurred about three months after he had received his last assignment, in the fifteenth year of his ministry and the fortieth year of his age. He was an efficient minister and was especially interested in the promotion of Sunday schools and in the distribution of tracts at a time when these projects were in their earlier stages. The joint labors of these two men were rewarded by a net increase in the membership of the charge of 53, making a total of 249 at the year's end.

In the course of time Salem (Hamlin) became the head of this circuit, and Canaan Corners, 66 near Waymart, became the center of the activities of the junior preacher whenever there was a second minister on the charge. During the year in question Mr. Hickcox organized a class and established a preaching place at the Corners in the home of Vene Lee and his wife Polly. The four other members of this class were William Griffin, a brother of Mrs. Lee, and a local preacher, his wife, Sabrina Griffin, and Stephen and Betsy Blatchley. Vene Lee was a quiet sort of man, a butcher by trade. Mrs. Lee, familiarly known as "Mother Lee," was a zealous Methodist and a woman of forceful character. She was converted in Connecticut whence came the group constituting the class. Having some knowledge of medicine, she readily responded to all calls in times of sickness. Especially was she occupied in religious activities, some times in ways annoying to others. Scarcely waiting for the preacher to conclude his sermon, she would follow with fluent exhortation. She was insistent on what she considered "old fashioned Methodism," and was not timid in her criticisms of others, not excepting the preacher himself. Polly Lee had a keen sense of duty and was never absent from quarterly meetings within the possibility of her attendance, and was known to go forty or fifty miles in order to be present, either driving her own carriage or riding horseback.

Mrs. Lee's faith in prayer was practical and was demonstrated in personal experience. On one of her errands of mercy she was thrown from her carriage and dislocated her right elbow. Although the arm was properly set it was rendered useless for a long time. She was finally led to pray for the restoration of the injured member but had no conception of the means by which her prayer would be answered. It came about by another "accident" when she fell upon her

lame arm. Soon she found it restored to its normal health and usefulness.

The Bridgewater<sup>67</sup> circuit took its name from Bridgewater township which is centrally located in Susquehanna county, and within which is Montrose the county seat. The men who inaugurated the work in the new charge were John Hazzard<sup>68</sup> and Elijah Warren.<sup>69</sup> The latter began his ministry at this time but took a location five years later. Hazzard began his ministry two years earlier. But he, too, located after five years of circuit riding. They were men of piety but had certain limitations that clearly disqualified them for acceptable service. Hazzard's most obvious defect was in his speech for he was a stammerer whose faulty utterance could scarcely be matched. Warren, on the other hand, was guided by his impressions rather than by good judgment. By way of illustration of this propensity is the experience he had when he was passing a certain house that was situated some distance from the road. He was impressed that he ought to go to this house and talk with the inmates about the Christian life. The impression deepened in intensity as he traveled on until he was convinced that he was grieving the Holy Spirit and that it was his duty to turn back and converse with the family. In compliance with his conviction he made considerable effort to reach the house, praying as he went that he might have success in persuading the prospective converts to accept the Christian religion. After repeatedly knocking at the door without response he made careful examination only to discover that the house was not occupied! It is not known whether Mr. Warren profited by this experience or continued to pursue his impressions.

The first annual report of the Bridgewater charge revealed a membership of 299 white and one colored member. These were scattered among possibly sixteen or more preaching places, presumably not all of which were taken from the old Wyoming circuit.

Our knowledge of the Tioga<sup>70</sup> circuit and its preachers for the year 1813-14 is meagre indeed. The setting off of many of its preaching places to form the Broome circuit the year before did not prove to be a paralyzing blow to the original charge which this year showed remarkable recuperating powers. After a reduction in membership of about 55% this year revealed a remarkable rebound with a gain of nearly 28%, from 217 up to 276. The men who carried on the work of the charge were James H. Baker<sup>71</sup> and James Hall.<sup>72</sup> Baker traveled circuits for only six years from his reception on trial in 1810 to his location in 1816. By way of contrast Hall, who was received into conference this year, served Tioga two years in succession, was then one year at Bridgewater, and continued for many years in the active ministry. On the organization of the Oneida conference in 1829 he found himself a member of that body but returned to the Genesee conference in 1832. When the East Genesee conference was constituted in 1848, taking five of the nine districts of the Genesee conference, Hall automatically became a member of the former. Data concerning

the close of his life and service are not at hand, aside from the fact that he was in service past the middle of the century.

The death of Anning Owen occurred in April, late in this conference year. It must have been with no small degree of satisfaction in the closing year of his life to look back over the achievements of the quarter of a century that had transpired since first this blacksmith "hammered away" in the Wyoming Valley.

Miss H. A. Harmon, daughter of George Harmon, has left a written account<sup>73</sup> of some of her father's experiences while on the Susquehanna district. One of her sketches had to do with a trip he took in going to a quarterly conference to be held at Lycoming, Pa. Coming from a quarterly meeting at Painted Post, N. Y., he chose the route by way of the North Branch of the Susquehanna rather than to go directly through the northern wilderness of Pennsylvania. At Athens he met Mr. Minier who invited Mr. Harmon to accompany him as he was about to go down the river to deliver a quantity of lumber. Accordingly he embarked with his horse and baggage on Minier's raft. The time was late in the spring of 1814 when the river was high, the current was swift and there was much traffic on the stream. The first night the company reached Skinner's Eddy, a place where there were a few scattered log houses and one tavern. So many raftsmen had arrived ahead of them that it was not till nearly midnight before they could be served supper. By that time the table had been cleared and scarcely a morsel of food remained. The scanty fare that finally was set before them, as the landlady explained, was the best she could find. A sympathetic woman, who happened to remember Mr. Harmon, placed a chair for him in the corner by the fire, saying there was no bed available. In fact so many were the applicants for shelter and so few were the beds that the floor was literally covered with men stretched out on buffalo skins and overcoats. The volume of snoring that came from the men was evidence that many of them at least were "sound asleep." But not so in the case of the presiding elder who nevertheless was wide awake the following day, entranced with the beautiful scenery of springtime along the widely sweeping Susquehanna.

The second night the Minier raft landed near Wilkes-Barre where the party faired much better than at Skinner's Eddy. Arriving earlier than many others, they had an early and ample supper. For some reason they were the objects of suspicion by the hostess who was of German descent. It came out that the real reason for her suspicion was that so often she had been taken advantage of she held everyone in suspicion. She had therefore made it a rule that all must pay for their supper before leaving the table. When the woman noticed that Mr. Harmon said grace and that Mr. Minier, who was a local preacher, returned thanks after the meal she said nothing about immediate payment. They also secured excellent beds for their lodging that night. In the morning when they made payment she remarked that she would have little trouble if all travelers were like them.

# VIII. The Middle Period in the Genesee Conference

End of Harmon's Term. Wyalusing Made a Circuit.

Nathaniel Chubbuck, Jr.

George Harmon completed in 1814-15 a three years' term on the Susquehanna district<sup>1</sup> which was not only reduced in the number of charges from eleven to eight, but also in the area covered. This was effected by the elimination of the circuits hitherto forming the New York portion of the territory. Five of the eight circuits were within the northeastern part of Pennsylvania. One of the five was newly constituted, namely, the Wyalusing circuit.

Benjamin G. Paddock<sup>2</sup> who followed Marmaduke Pearce at Wyoming was born in Burlington, Vt., Jan. 24, 1789, and therefore was twenty-five years of age when he received this appointment. He entered the Genesee conference in 1810, took a location for the year 1820, and was a supernumerary, serving as supply pastor, in 1819 and 1846. Otherwise he was in the effective ministry until his permanent retirement in 1847. He served three years as the presiding elder of the Pottsdam district in New York, the first year being while it was in the Genesee conference, and the last two years after it had become a part of the Oneida conference in 1829. His death occurred in Metuchin, N. J., Oct. 7, 1872. Mr. Paddock was a splendid singer and rendered excellent service among the young people. "The circuit Steward's Book for Wyoming circuit" which was in use for thirty-eight years, has as its first entry, "The first quarterly meeting, held as a camp meeting, at Plymouth, September 3, 4, 1814." The outcome of the camp meeting is not a matter of record unless it be found in the fact that at the end of the year the Wyoming membership advanced from 192 to 234, a gain of nearly 22%. This was the second such meeting held on the circuit and certainly had values for the charge however intangible they may have been.

On the Canaan charge the preachers were James Gilmore<sup>3</sup> and Israel Cook.<sup>4</sup> Cook was received into the conference in 1812. After being at Canaan this year he was at Bridgewater the following year. As one of the pastors at Northumberland in 1820 he went with that circuit into the Baltimore conference. Two years later he superannuated, after which his name is not found. Gilmore began in 1812 and had a rather sketchy career. After being at Canaan this year he was a superannuate for two years and then a supernumerary for two years. In 1819 he was at Tioga. After that he was at times a supernumerary, a superannuate, and then in the effective relation. Transferring to the Pittsburgh conference in 1829 he repeated the cycle, finally retiring again in 1836 and directly disappearing from the records of the General Minutes.

Gilmore was known for his eccentricities, albeit he was a man of sincerity.

Like many other of his generation he seemed to assume that the peculiarities and even crudeness of his methods were divinely ordered to the end that people might be awakened and yield themselves to God. It must be acknowledged that sometimes such results actually did take place. During his stay on the Canaan circuit he employed his tactics in the home of a Methodist layman whose daughter resolutely declined to become a Christian or even kneel with others when he prayed in the home. Failing in all of his efforts he finally declared, "Well, if you are determined to go to hell, and if you will go, the sooner you go the better." This shocked the young woman but not nearly as much when Gilmore in prayer told the Lord how wicked she was, and petitioned God that "if she would not repent, to kill her and take her out of the way of others whom she was hindering." Running out of the house as soon as she could, she told a friend in great excitement that she thought it very likely the prayer would be answered, and that if it should be, the blame would be on the preacher. Evidently the drastic experience did work upon her, for she later accepted the Christian call and became a member of the church.

At the end of the year the membership on the Canaan circuit dropped from 249 to 147. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the falling off in the number of members was due solely to the inefficiencies or eccentricities of the ministers. At the beginning of the year Wyalusing was set off as a new circuit. At the same time there probably was a readjustment of the boundaries of the other nearby circuits, thus favorably affecting the membership at Wyoming and Bridgewater and unfavorably affecting the membership at Canaan and Tioga. Other factors beyond our present range of vision were of course operative in each case. At Bridgewater the "numbers in society" advanced from a total of 300 to 319 at the same time that at Tioga the count dropped from 276 to 244. The new charge was able to report 130 at the end of its first year.

This year the preachers at Bridgewater were Elisha Bibbins and Wyatt Chamberlin,<sup>5</sup> or Chamberlain. The latter was admitted into conference this year and served in Canada and in the States until the Canada conference was formed in 1824 when he became a member of that body. The center of the circuit was Brooklyn which became distinguished for the zeal and spirituality of the people. Indeed some became extremists in the expression of their religious emotions amounting to fanaticism at times. Under the stress of religious excitement they would move up and down greatly to the confusion of outsiders. These people can scarcely be charged with affectation for their movements were graceful and unstudied. They were sincere and seemed to be unaware of the evolutions through which they were passing. The manifestations clearly were an index of some of the religious phenomena of the period.

Wyalusing<sup>6</sup> as a preaching place was one of the earliest along the Susquehanna, being visited by Colbert and others in their regular rounds. At one time

it was the appointment farthest south on the Tioga circuit. Because of the enlargement of the work here and farther north it was set apart as a separate circuit, taking much of its territory from Tioga. In course of time it in turn was divided to form the Pike circuit, later known as the Orwell circuit. It is probable that the first Methodist sermon heard in the hinterland was in 1812 and was delivered by Marmaduke Pearce when he was serving Tioga. Back of this is the story of a family by the name of Chubbuck whose home originally was in Connecticut. Nathaniel Chubbuck, Jr., when about twenty-two years of age came to the town of Orwell in 1811 and bought a place on Wysox creek. The following year he went East and returned with a bride. When he left home his father gave him a saddle and asked him to have Methodist preaching in the home he was about to establish. To this the young man agreed although at the time he was not a Christian man. From William Myers, of Wysox, he learned that occasionally Methodist ministers preached at Judge Gore's in Sheshequin. Accordingly as soon as his log house was up he sought out the judge who promised to intercede in his behalf so that the preacher on his next round would visit the Chubbuck home. On the day appointed a goodly number of neighbors gathered though some were skeptical that the minister would come. Presently a stranger was seen advancing through the woods, and was met by the young man. The former inquired, "Can you tell me where Nathaniel Chubbuck lives?" The reply was, "Yes, sir. He lives here and I am the man." Warmly welcomed by a waiting and responsive congregation, Marmaduke Pearce established this as a regular preaching place for itinerants. Appropriately Nathaniel Chubbuck became a Christian and in 1823 received an exhorter's license from John Griffin, the pastor in that year. Nathaniel's parents and other members of the family subsequently followed him to this frontier outpost. His youngest brother, Francis S., as well as a nephew, S. A. Chubbuck, became Methodist ministers, the former late in life having his membership in the Wyoming conference.

Corrington E. Taylor,<sup>7</sup> who was born in Rome, Pa., and who many years later served as pastor in this territory, furnished a report to Dr. Peck for his Early Methodism, setting forth certain data based on the old Steward's Book of the Wyalusing circuit. Here is a quotation from this book:

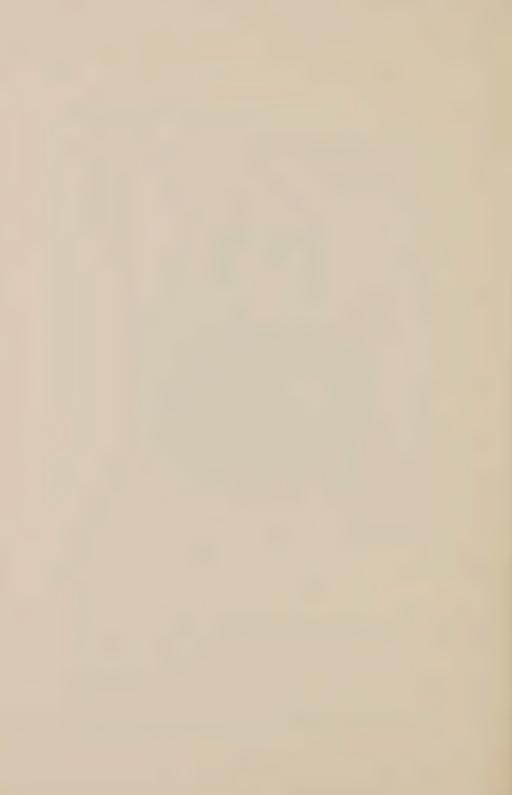
"Minutes taken at a quarterly meeting conference held at Joseph Ross's, Middletown (Pa.), September 24, 1814. Present, George Harmon, presiding elder; Renaldo M. Everts, circuit preacher; Joseph Ross, Joseph Utter, stewards; Timothy Coggins, Edmund Fairchilds, exhorters; Ezekiel Brown, Andrew Canfield, Uriah Gaskill, leaders."

Collections from ten preaching places totaled \$20.41 for the quarter. After deducting 87½c for the elements, and \$4.91 for other expenses, which are not specified, there remained \$14.62 for Mr. Everts. Two other quarterly meetings in this year are mentioned without giving details of the personnel and proceed-



George Peck, D.D.

Preacher, Administrator, Editor, Historian



ings. The record shows that in addition to Wyalusing itself there were twelve other preaching places in the circuit, most of which were in Pennsylvania. Those within the state were: Athens, Apalachin, Litchfield, Windham, Orwell, Skinner's Eddy, Rome and Wyalusing. As for Everts<sup>8</sup> there is not much available information—none at hand save what is found in the Minutes. He entered the ministry in 1812 and had only this year in this section. His entire ministerial career was in the Genesee conference where he served charges a total of twenty-two years, stepping aside as a superannuate in 1831 for three years after which he was a pastor for three more years, then again retiring permanently in 1837. He was still a superannuate in 1851 beyond which there are no records at hand.

At Tioga this year were James Hall and John Griffing. It was the former's second year in the itinerancy and the second in this appointment. Griffing was received into conference at this time, was stationed here again in 1818 and 1819, was at Bridgewater in 1820, and at Wyalusing several different times thereafter. He automatically became a member of the Oneida conference in 1829. His later years present a record of intervals in which he was a supernumerary or a superannuate, with years of effective service in between. His last appointment was received in August, 1844. But he was unable to finish the year, his death occurring Dec. 22. He is spoken of as a man who was devout in his spirit, ardent in his devotion to his work and cooperative with other ministers in the prosecution of the broader activities of the church.

As to the contribution made by Hall and Griffing in this year of labor on the Tioga circuit we are without information.

## MARMADUKE PEARCE ON THE DISTRICT—DEATH OF FRANCIS ASBURY.

The sixth session of the Genesee conference<sup>10</sup> convened in Lyons, N. Y., June 29, 1815, Bishop McKendree presiding. This was the second consecutive year marked by the absence of "The Prophet of the Long Road." From this conference Marmaduke Pearce was appointed to the Susquehanna district where he began a term of four years. The preacher in charge at Wyoming was George W. Densmore<sup>11</sup> who began in the New York conference in 1809, came into the Genesee conference the next year, went into the Oneida conference on its organization in 1829, served a total of thirty-eight years in the effective relation, and located in 1837. He served two years each on three charges. Otherwise he was on a circuit but one year at a time. However, he was regarded as an able pastor and an eloquent and forceful preacher. During his year at Wyoming the membership<sup>12</sup> declined to 196 members, a loss of 38.

The Canaan appointment went to Ebenezer Doolittle,<sup>13</sup> possibly a brother of Orrin who was there four years earlier. Ebenezer Doolittle was admitted to conference in 1812, was at Bridgewater in 1818, at Wyalusing the following year,

locating in 1826, after only fourteen years of service. Peck states that this preacher was assisted by Robert Montgomery whose name does not appear in the General Minutes. Montgomery, who may have been but a local preacher, was "a hard working man, but unsuccessful." At the year's end the reports showed a remarkable increase in the membership, bringing the record up to 280, or nearly double of what it was the year before.

At Bridgewater the preachers in 1815-16 were James Hall and Nathan B. Dodson. A side from the information given in the General Minutes there seems to be nothing recorded of the work of these men this year. Dodson came into the conference in 1813, but after serving now at Bridgewater he was a superannuate for two years. From 1818 he was in the effective relation until his retirement in 1838 with the exception of 1827 and the five years following 1830, when he was also a superannuate. It was as a superannuate that he entered the East Genesee conference in 1848, continuing there in that relation. His actual years of service were only seventeen. For the year's work the charge was able to report an increase of seven in membership, the total being 326 by the convening of the next conference.

Elisha Bibbins, who twice before had served in this section, and who was to reappear at least three more times, was stationed at Wyalusing<sup>15</sup> for 1815-16. During the twelve months, according to the old Steward's Book, quarterly meetings were held periodically. The records of March 9, 1816, reveal that Hiram G. Warner was a local preacher, though it does not appear when he was so licensed originally. The number of classes on the charge increased from nine to eleven. Meantime the membership dropped to 114 whites and one colored member, a net loss of 15.

At Tioga was Palmer Roberts, <sup>16</sup> a minister who entered the conference on trial in 1811 and continued in effective relation for twenty-three years. In 1834, 1835 and 1836 he had a location. Thence forward he was a superannuate with the exception of the years 1837, 1838 and 1843 when he was a supernumerary. In 1848 he automatically became a member of the East Genesee conference at its initial session. During Roberts' year at Tioga there was an increase of ten in the membership, bringing it up to 254.

A matter of unusual note not only for Northeastern Pennsylvania but also for the whole church was the death of Bishop Francis Asbury,<sup>17</sup> which took place on Sunday, March 31, 1816, in the seventy-first year of his age. For nearly forty-five years he had been an incessant preacher in America, nearly thirty-two of those years being a bishop. Naturally frail of body and beset by many maladies from which he suffered great pain for much of his life, he was a monumental example of devotion and of a will to serve in spite of all physical adversities and hindrances. In his labors he was the counterpart in America of John Wesley in the British Isles. Adhering closely to Wesley's system yet more understanding

than Wesley as to the conditions in America, he made that system essentially American in its adaptation. Never affecting the role of a finished theologian or of a pulpit orator, he nevertheless excelled as a thinker and as a preacher of incisive utterance and of such knowledge of the Scriptures as to enable him to carry conviction with his hearers. As an administrator of the affairs of the church, whether at sessions of conferences or in the strategy of deploying the forces of the church, he was efficient and statesman-like. Given the unique opportunity of being present at and having large responsibility for the organic inception of Methodism in America, and afterward being commissioned with major supervision of the church, it was inevitable that very much of his personality entered permanently into its spirit and structure. His early and fairly frequent journeys along the Susquehanna river in the days of the pioneers gave inspiration and direction to the work in all of the Wyoming country, thus helping to establish Methodism in this region for all time to come. Even before the death of this great man the church here was well on its way to vaster things. Anning Owen, William Colbert, Valentine Cook, Thomas Ware and others had labored valiantly. However, their service was made much more valuable and meaningful because of the master mind and spirit of Francis Asbury.

### THE COLD SUMMER.

The Genesee conference<sup>18</sup> met at Paris, N. Y., July 17, 1816, and adjourned on the 22nd. Bishop McKendree presided. Marmaduke Pearce was sent to the Susquehanna district<sup>19</sup> for his second year. Elias Bowen was appointed to Wyoming, Israel Cook to Canaan, Isaac Grant to Bridgewater, John Griffing to Wyalusing, and Michael Burdge to Tioga. In each of these instances these men worked singly on their charges. Bowen<sup>20</sup> was born in Warwick, Mass., June 16, 1791, and died Oct. 25, 1871. He united with the church in 1814 and united with the Genesee conference at its session of July that year. After forty-three years of continuous service he retired in 1857, frequently supplying churches after that date. He was a presiding elder for a total of twenty-four years, though not continuously. As pastor of the church in Utica he went with that church into the Oneida conference in 1829. Seven times he was a delegate to the General Conference. The year before his death Bowen united with the Free Methodist church. "As a preacher he was clear, logical, forcible, and was a warm friend of education and of educational institutions." At the end of this, which was Mr. Bowen's first year at Wyoming, the membership reported was 273, an advance

Although the General Minutes indicate that the sole appointee at Canaan was Israel Cook,<sup>21</sup> Peck states that he had as assistant William Brandon who was at Wyoming in 1802 and was expelled from the Baltimore conference in 1805,

explaining that he was now back in the work as a local preacher. This was Cook's second year at Canaan with one year in between. The membership report for 1816-17 may have been repeated from the previous year as there was no change, the number remaining at 280.

The class book<sup>22</sup> of John Andrews and Fitch Curtis in 1816 contained this admonition, "Be Partickular Every friday Preceding quarterly Meeting, Must be observed As a day of fasting and Prayer For the prosperity of Zion"; also, "keep close to the Lord, Keep close Class-Meetings." Effort was made to keep the meetings "close". But sometimes sinners were admitted who were supposed to be seekers. Afterward written permits were required of all. Even members had difficulty in obtaining admission to the meetings, if they had no permits. This stricture was liberalized after the Methodist Protestants retired from the field. If members were absent from class meetings three consecutive times, they were obliged to render a reason. This regulation was designed to help people keep in the line of their duties as it was recognized that they were in danger of "falling from grace" or "losing their strength."

Isaac Grant<sup>23</sup> was the brother of Loring Grant, both of whom were the sons of Dr. and Mrs. Isaac Grant. Isaac Grant, Jr., was born Feb. 3, 1786, in Lenox, Berkshire county, Mass. Coming with the family early in life to Norwich, N. Y., he was converted at the age of fourteen, and, after filling the offices of class leader, exhorter and local preacher, he united with the Genesee conference at the session of 1816, from which he was sent to Bridgewater. The two ensuing years he was at Canaan. Like so many other members of his conference he became a member of the Oneida conference in 1829. After serving continuously for a quarter of a century failing health caused him to send a request for retirement, which was granted him at the session that met in Owego, N. Y., Aug. 11, 1841. In spite of the modest length of his life he was represented as possessing a "robust constitution." He expended himself in arduous labors and in difficult fields. His zealous toils resulted in accessions to the churches he served.

In September, 1816, there was a camp meeting<sup>24</sup> at Brooklyn on the Bridge-water circuit, which was held on the lands of Edward Paine, under the direction of Marmaduke Pearce the presiding elder. At the special invitation of Mr. Pearce, George Peck, who was on the Broome circuit, was in attendance. The conditions under which the meetings were held were most discouraging. This was at the end of the famous "cold summer." Already the frosts had destroyed the crops in the section, bringing widespread gloom to the people. It was almost impossible to develop any spiritual heat among the attendants when their bodies were nearly numb from the cold nights and mornings, and when their material welfare was at so low an ebb. In the face of these distresses Mr. Pearce preached a sermon of great power on the evidences of Christianity from the words to Nicodemus, "We know that thou art a teacher come from God." The services were not with-

out their values as there were some non-Christians who were converted and some Christians who were enriched in their experiences.

Aside from whatever part Mr. Grant had in the camp meeting he was active elsewhere<sup>25</sup> in his circuit. This year a class was formed at Springville, with seven members. Among the members were Abiathar Tuttle, the leader, and Betsy Sutton and Sarah Hankins. At Lymanville, also, a class was formed at an unspecified early date. It was composed largely of the Lyman family besides Joseph Earl, George Atkinson, William Belcher, Nathaniel Sheldon, John Oakley and William Taylor. As in the case of Canaan the membership report for the year was identical with that of the one preceding, namely, 326.

At Wyalusing John Griffing was making his second appearance in this section, having been at Tioga three years earlier. He was destined to reappear in several later instances. The Steward's Book<sup>26</sup> shows that at a quarterly meeting dated Dec. 14, 1816, the name of Aaron Chubbuck was listed as a steward. Subsequently he became Judge Chubbuck. The church membership on the entire circuit advanced from 114 whites and one colored to 160 whites.

The career of Michael Burdge<sup>27</sup> was very irregular from beginning to end. He was admitted on trial in 1788 but located four years later. In 1809 his name appears again among the appointments in the South Carolina conference, and so continues until 1815 when it is not found. Beginning with 1816 he was a member of the Genesee conference for three years but was expelled in 1819. The following year he was listed among those who wer located. It was late in this first year of his pastorate at Tioga that he substituted<sup>28</sup> for the presiding elder at a quarterly meeting held in May, 1817, at the home of Daniel Shoemaker in the town and county of Tioga, N. Y. As this information appears in the Steward's Book for the Wyalusing circuit it would seem that the place of the meeting was within that circuit rather than within Burdge's own charge. The year closed with 305 members, a gain of 51.

### THE LITTLE CAMP MEETING

During the year 1817-18 Mr. Pearce served his third year on the district, and in the section under consideration he had exactly the same personnel as preachers in charge. The only variation was that Grant and Cook exchanged their fields, the former going to Canaan and the latter to Bridgewater.

Toward the close of Mr. Bowen's second year at Wyoming<sup>29</sup> a camp meeting of far-reaching significance was held on the Amey farm which was on the road extending northwesterly from Wyoming, the New Troy of that day. The tents which were used in those times were not numerous. But the people who did attend were greatly stirred by the effective preaching which they heard and many were converted to the Christian life. It was not what transpired at the regularly scheduled encampment but the developments of the unplanned after meeting that made the event so noteworthy.

The story is vividly narrated by a contemporary who heard it many times from the lips of those who were present. Here is his report:

"A company of young people from Forty Fort had a tent on the ground, and, for persons who made no pretensions to religion, were unusually interested in the exercises. At the close of the meeting it was evident that the Spirit of God was at work in their hearts. Not being sufficiently humbled to come out and seek religion openly, and yet feeling so deeply awakened as to resolve upon a change of life in some form, the leading spirit in the circle fixed her plan to escape from the camp-ground early on the morning of the closing day without exposing herself to the observation of the multitude and to seek religion at home. The Myers tent was early taken down, and everything was in readiness to lead the procession of wagons and carriages down the mountain into the settlement. Betsy was so deeply wounded that she lost her power of self-control and wept bitterly. In passing through the deep ravine called Carpenter's Notch she sobbed and cried aloud. As the carriage moved out of the dense shade and entered the outskirts of the valley settlement, her cries became so loud that they were heard by those who were next in the train. The carriage paused and on the invitation of a female friend, a daughter of Colonel Dennison, Betsy Myers alighted from the wagon and fell upon her knees in the shade of a clump of oak and pine shrubs by the side of the road, crying, 'God, have mercy upon me, a poor wicked sinner!' The way was soon blocked. The whole train was arrested and the attention of all was attracted to a little group of young ladies by the wayside weeping and praying. The preachers came along and they found agreeable work upon their hands there on their way from the encampment."

Many joined the group, including several from the surrounding neighborhood who out of curiosity were attracted to discover what was the strange commotion. The scene continued hour after hour, the cries of the penitents commingling with the victorious shouts of the converts. Ten or a dozen conversions were the immediate result of this "little camp meeting" whose fame was told on many an occasion and for many years to come. So great a tide of religious concern was developed at the camp meeting and its aftermath that the entire charge was deeply affected. Continuation meetings were held in nearby churches. When presently the preachers were called away to attend the session of the conference that convened July 16 others stepped into the work, such men as Benjamin Bidlack, currently in Northumberland, and George Lane who at the time was a local preacher residing in Wilkes-Barre. Darius Williams, too, was busy conducting prayer meetings. After conference Mr. Lane turned over to the minister the names of those who desired to unite with the church. Betsy Myers later became Mrs. Locke, of Kingston. Her sister Mary became the wife of George Peck<sup>30</sup> on June 10, 1819.

The full value of the camp meeting could not be measured by the number of accessions to the churches on the circuit inasmuch as many of these new names were added to the roll after the conference of 1818. However, Mr. Bowen was able to report an increase of 29, making a total of 302.

What are the facts pertaining to Isaac Grant's first year at Canaan do not

appear. Furthermore no explanation is afforded for the decline in membership<sup>31</sup> from 280 to 183. Perhaps the decline had taken place prior to the previous year's report, which as has been mentioned, was a repetition of the figures for 1816. This man was surely a conscientious workman. There appears to be no data as to the work prosecuted this year by Cook at Bridgewater, Griffing at Wyalusing and Burdge at Tioga, aside from the statistics given in the General Minutes which show a decline in membership at Bridgewater of 39, with a net of 287; an increase of 40 at Wyalusing, to total 200; and an increase at Tioga of 68, to total 373.

Contributions<sup>32</sup> made this year to the Genesee conference fund, amounting to \$315.27, included \$67.33 from Wyoming, and \$5 each from Canaan and Wyalusing. This fund was in support of the bishops and the superannuated and supernumerary members of the conference.

## THE ADVENT OF GEORGE PECK, 1818

The year 1818-19 stands out as one of a remarkable upswing in Methodism in Northeastern Pennsylvania. This may be due in part to the fact that its annals were more adequately treated in the records. But it is also true that its achievements were more worthy of recording, for, on the test of membership growth, it was unique in that on every circuit there was a notable increase in the personnel, the increase totaling 236 for the section. One man in particular who came at this time into this part of the state was to become one of the most useful ministers of that generation, noted as a preacher, administrator, educator, editor and historian. This was George Peck<sup>33</sup> who was born in Otsego county, N. Y., Aug. 9, 1797, being the fifth child of Luther and Annis Collar Peck, lately of Connecticut. The parents were nominal Congregationalists but became Methodists after the father had experienced a remarkable conversion. George Peck, in commenting upon his own conversion, states that he was just past fifteen years of age when it took place, and that it was a rather calm affair in spite of his desire to have as demonstrable an experience as many others which he had witnessed. He made his decision quietly at home early in the day of Nov. 12, 1812, and that evening made public confession at a prayer-meeting. Two years later the family moved to Hamilton, N. Y., where a class was formed in their home. In successive steps Peck became an exhorter and then a local preacher. When the Genesee conference met in July, 1816, he united with it and became the junior preacher with Elisha Bibbins on the Broome circuit. From this time forward his development was notable.

In all Dr. Peck spent fifty-seven years in the effective relation, a record scarcely, if ever, equaled in the denomination, serving in various fields of endeavor. He was a pastor for twenty-four years, with intervals between his pastorates. Similarly he was a presiding elder for seventeen years. For four years he was the principal of the Oneida Conference Seminary at Cazenovia. At the age of forty-two he was elected editor of the Quarterly Review and eight years later of the Christian Advocate. Beginning with 1824 he was elected a delegate to the General Conference for thirteen successive times, often leading the delegation. In 1846 he was a delegate to the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, which was held in London. He was the author of "Early Methodism within the Bounds of the Old Genesee Conference," "Wyoming," "Life and Times of Rev. George Peck, D.D.," and of many smaller treatises. Indeed he was a voluminous, even prolific writer, in spite of having a limited amount of formal education. Self tutored, he read extensively and stored up resources for whatever intellectual demands might come upon him. In pulpit utterance he did not display great imagination or flights of oratory. Nevertheless his words had the appeal of good sense, good theology and emotional power. He ever entertained an optimistic outlook on life and was radiant in his kindliness. He never lost hold on the conviction that the essential purpose of life is evangelism. The writer of his memoir paid this tribute to Dr. Peck: "It is, we think, the general impression that no man since the days of Asbury has done more for the Methodist Episcopal Church than has our departed brother." Of the four children of Dr. Peck and Mary Myers Peck, two became Methodist ministers, one became a physician, and the fourth, a daughter, became the wife of a Methodist minister.

The ninth session of the Genesee conference<sup>34</sup> was held in Lansing, Cayuga Co., N. Y., in July, 1818, Bishop Roberts presiding. Marmaduke Pearce, who was about to begin his fourth and final year on the Susquehanna district, requested the appointment of George Peck to the Wyoming circuit, which request was granted. Peck, who at this time was but a young man and had just been admitted into full membership in the conference and ordained a deacon, felt diffident to go as the sole preacher to so old and so desirable a circuit but was assured by Mr. Pearce that the people were kindly and the recent revival would greatly contribute to his success. Having met Darius Williams at the Brooklyn camp meeting a couple of years earlier, he went first of all to the home of this local preacher, where he found a hearty welcome characteristic of the man. The day after Peck's arrival he called on George Lane in Wilkes-Barre, who after a few years in the itinerancy had taken a location because of poor health, but who later returned to the effective ranks and was most useful to the church, especially in connection with the Missionary Society.

As Mr. Peck entered upon his duties he found the circuit arranged on a plan requiring two weeks of travel, involving 136 miles and twelve preaching places. His first sermon was delivered in the old church at Forty Fort, Aug. 9, the day after his 21st birthday. In the afternoon he preached in Plymouth. There were four other preaching places on the west side of the river, namely, Kingston,

Bedford (Trucksville), C. Kunkle's, near Dallas, and J. Whitlock's, in Northmoreland. It is difficult to understand whether or not the old church at Forty Fort is to be identified with Kingston. On the east side of the river were: Wilkes-Barre, Hanover, Lehigh, (Stoddartsville), (Jacob's) Plains, Ebenezer Marcy's, above Pittston, and the home of Preserved Taylor who lived in what is now the Hyde Park section of Scranton. In addition to these Mr. Peck resumed services that had been discontinued at Carverton, New Troy, (Wyoming), and Newport. He also established an appointment at the home of Ephraim Leach<sup>35</sup> in the town of Abington, where the members of the first class were Mr. and Mrs. Leach, Mr. and Mrs. Gideon Ellis, Mr. and Mrs. James Ross, Mr. and Mrs. John Weiss, and David Silsbee. Leach's home was within the present Chinchilla and was along the old Abington or Philadelphia and Great Bend Turnpike. At a later date a church was erected at the fork of the road where the turnpike is joined by the Lackawanna Trail. This was known as the "White Church," and presumably was the scene of the sixth session of the Wyoming conference<sup>36</sup> in 1857.

Peck found the charge in excellent condition largely as the result of the recent camp meeting and the ensuing revival meetings. This was especially true at Forty Fort and Stoddartsville. At the latter place there had been the peculiar case of a notoriously evil young man by the name of Lewis Stull who had been frightened by what he considered an apparition of the devil while at a shingle camp in the woods. Whatever it was he was driven to praying. His conversion was so sensational that the lumbermen throughout the region were deeply impressed. This having taken place just before the advent of Mr. Peck in Stoddartsville his very first service was signalized by several conversions. Mr. Peck makes special mention of the congenial hospitality he enjoyed at the home of Stephen Abbott in Plains and that the class leader at the Taylor farm was Mrs. Taylor herself. At the end of the first two weeks of engagements he noted that he had preached six times in private homes, three times in schoolhouses and three times in churches. At that time the Methodists did not own a single meeting house in the area.

The first quarterly meeting<sup>37</sup> of this year was held in the Forty Fort church in September and was conducted by the presiding elder Mr. Pearce, who after delivering a short discourse called upon George Evans to exhort. This man who some years later became an itinerant was at this time a lumberman who was occupied in cutting cedar timber up the Susquehanna and getting it to market. Having heard of the meeting he brought his raft into an eddy nearby, and came as he was to the church, bronzed, unshaven, clad in brown shirt and coarse trousers. There were no stockings on his feet which were clad with old shoes tied up with bark. With complete lack of self-consciousness he approached the presiding elder and Mr. Myers to whom he extended his brawny hand in greeting. But Evans was well known for his religious ardor and ready tongue. When

once this Welshman got under way with his fiery eloquence and flights of imagination his hearers were often caught up to the heights of a religious experience that found expression sometimes in tears and sometimes in laughter. So it was at this time.

The regular quarterly meeting schedule was followed, which meant that after the service on Saturday afternoon the quarterly conference was held and then a prayer meeting. On Sunday a love feast of great fervor continued from 8:30 to 10:30 under the able leadership of Darius Williams. None were admitted but members. Yet the church was filled. At eleven o'clock the presiding elder delivered a discourse that blended pathos with effective argument, and then administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Shortly after the meeting just described Mr. Peck baptized by immersion in the Susquehanna several of the recent converts, among them being Mrs. Sarah Hart, of Kingston, and three daughters of Philip Myers. Still later he baptized by effusion Myron Helme and James Hodges, the latter subsequently becoming a minister. Throughout the summer and fall the church services were crowded, many of the congregation remaining for the class meeting. Several valuable names were added to the membership, including Mrs. Gore, sister of General Ross, and Mrs. Pettibone, wife of Capt. Oliver Pettibone and sister of Robert Treat Paine, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Capt. and Mrs. Pettibone were the grandparents of the Hon. Paine Pettibone and the ancestors of many others who became influential members of society.

Statistically the results of the year's work at Wyoming was an increase of 69 members, making the score 360 white and 11 colored members.<sup>38</sup>

Exactly three weeks before the tenth session of the Genesee confrence, namely, on Thursday, June 10, 1819, George Peck was united in marriage with Mary Myers, third daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Philip Myers. George Lane accompanied Peck to the conference which convened in Vienna, N. Y., July 1, under the presidency of Bishop Enoch George. At this time Lane was readmitted to the effective relation after ten years as a local preacher.

Isaac Grant's second year at Canaan was fruitful. The membership of the circuit advanced from 207 to 223. Early in September a camp meeting<sup>39</sup> was held in Salem which was attended by George Peck on the invitation of Marmaduke Pearce. He described the latter as being a "magnificent presiding elder" who rode on a "mammoth horse." Indeed there were several men and women from the Valley who rode horseback over Cobb Mountain, along the old Yankee trail, including two local preachers, Caleb and Robert Kendall. The encampment was small and crude, the grounds being rough and the "tents" poorly built. Yet "the work of awakening and conversion soon commenced and the groans of the wounded and the shouts of the saved resounded through the forest of tall hem-

lock and beech woods." Among those who were active at the meeting was "Aunt Polly" Lee who prayed, exhorted and shouted even to the point of exhaustion. Peculiar to the times was the conversion of a young man who was leaning on the rail near the altar, making sport of the proceedings. Caleb Kendall, who was a brusque old preacher, accosted the young man with the taunting remark, "You are a pretty fellow, standing here and making game of sacred things, with your ruffle sticking out of your bosom. As likely as not it is not paid for!" To the surprise of all the young man did not retaliate but sneaked away. In the evening "Father Kendall" discovered a young man at the altar, apparently in great agony of soul. With all kindliness he prayed with the individual until the stranger began to shout with the newly found joy of a Christian. Not until the two came out into the lighted area did the old preacher recognize that the one for whom he had been praying was none other than the one whom he had mercilessly rebuked earlier in the day, the ruffle now wilted and of the color of the ground upon which he had prostrated himself! Naturally the preacher was confirmed in the propriety of the tactics he had employed.

At Bridgewater the appointees were Ebenezer Doolittle and Edward Paine. 40 The latter began his ministry this year and was reappointed to the same charge a year later. At the end of his second year he was drowned in the Susquehanna river while on his way to attend conference which was held July 20 at Niagara. Upper Canada. His brief career in the itinerancy is not the full measure of Paine's Christian service. He was forty-two years of age at the time of his death, having been born in Connecticut in February, 1778. When he was fourteen years old the death of a sister turned his thoughts into a serious channel, leading him to unite with the Baptist church a year later. Some time afterward he transferred his relationship to the Methodist church, considering that its essentials were more in harmony with his own convictions. Coming with his family to Brooklyn, Pa., in 1809, he found the conditions of Methodism at a low ebb. Being solicitous about this, he secured a local preacher's license and began a work of rehabilitation which revived the lukewarm and aroused interest among non-Christians far and near, the result of which was a lively church and increased membership. With a growing conviction that he was not as fully engaged as he ought to be, he relinquished his office of Justice of the Peace and all other employments and gave himself completely to the Christian ministry.

Doolittle<sup>41</sup> who was at Canaan three years earlier and went to Wyalusing a year later prided himself on his knowledge of the Scriptures and was something of a controversialist. Just at this time one Solomon Dimack, a Baptist preacher of peculiar parts, presumably to be identified with "Elder" Davis Dimack or Dimock, published at large along the Susquehanna, especially between Tunkhannock and Wyalusing, eccentric doctrines, for which Doolittle took him to task. The upshot was a public debate which was had at Mehoopany. The

question was on the divinity of Christ. Dimack advanced the notion that "Christ was not the eternal God, but the eternal son of God." It was generally agreed that Doolittle had the better of the argument, though the value of the debate to the cause he ostensibly espoused was negligible. The year closed with 300 members, a gain of 13.

At Wyalusing Elisha Bibbins was the preacher in charge, having as his associate Elijah King<sup>42</sup> who at this time was a supernumerary in the conference, serving as a supply. King is credited with only nine years in the effective ministry, having been received on trial in 1811 and locating in 1825. Between these dates he was a supernumerary and supply preacher three years and a superannuate two years. Although the names of Bibbins and King appear in the Minutes, the quarterly conference records refer to King only on the date of Oct. 9, and to Bibbins only on Dec. 19. In spite of this apparent lack of ministerial service the membership for the year advanced from 200 to 226.

The preachers at Tioga were John Griffing and Andrew Peck.<sup>43</sup> The latter was a brother of George Peck, and was admitted to conference this year. He had twenty-two years in the regular ministry, including four years as a presiding elder. Between the time of his reception into conference and his final retirement in 1847 he was a supernumerary, serving as a supply, three years, and was on the list of superannuates four years. In 1829 he became a member of the Oneida conference, in whose membership he remained.

When Dr. Peck was compiling material for his Early Methodism, Andrew Peck furnished him data concerning Tioga as he knew it in 1818-19. This he was able to do from biographical sketches he had made. He described Tioga as a four weeks' circuit that extended from above Owego and Spencer, N. Y., to points in Pennsylvania down the Susquehanna and westerly along the Towanda Creek. There were twenty-six regular appointments besides several others that were occasionally visited. About half of the places were within each state. To care for this work required traveling some three hundred miles. To meet one engagement it was necessary to journey a dozen miles through dense forest to a point where the preachers were met by a group of women auditors who had to walk about the same distance and back in order to enjoy preaching. In all of the circuit there were but two buildings that could be called churches by any stretch of imagination. Probably the better one was at Smithboro, N. Y., known as "Light's Meeting House," deriving its name from the man on whose land it stood. Rough boards were used in this case. The other was on Sugar Creek which empties into the Susquehanna near North Towanda. This building had hewed logs for its walls, and was furnished with door, floor, seats and pulpit "to match." Weekly and biweekly services were held in schools and private buildings, most of them being of the crudest materials and crudely constructed. Referring to his colleague, Andrew Peck described John Griffing as a minister who was fervent in piety, powerful in exhortation and prayer, and tenderly compassionate toward the erring.

The year's ingathering brought the membership up to 467, an increase of 94. One other charge that appeared on the Susquehanna district in the years 1818 and 1819 raises questions for which there seem to be no answers. It was called Wayne<sup>44</sup> and presumably was in Northeastern Pennsylvania, very likely taking its name from Wayne county. It can scarcely be considered a circuit for solely at the end of 1818-19 was its membership reported, at which time it was only 20. It is entirely possible that this minute charge was created especially for the man who was appointed to it for the two successive years, Asa Cummins. 45 Conceivably he was physically infirm, inasmuch as during the five preceding years he had been either a supernumerary or a superannuate. This man was born in Connecticut on Sept. 1, 1762. His conversion occurred under the ministry of Freeborn Garrettson at the age of twenty-five. Ten years later he secured a local preacher's license. After serving under the presiding elder for one year he united with the New York conference in 1803, automatically transferring to the Genesee in 1810. Following the two years at Wayne he was two years at Wyalusing, one year at Bridgewater and four years in circuits in New York. Retiring in 1827, he was made a member of the Oneida conference in 1829. His death occurred Sept. 5, 1836, just past his seventy-fourth birthday. He was valued for the spiritual quality of his ministry rather than for unusual ability in other directions.

### LANE ON THE DISTRICT—CONTROVERSIES.

In 1819 Marmaduke Pearce<sup>46</sup> was appointed to Wyoming and was succeeded on the district by George Lane who had taken a location nine years earlier. The noteworthy event of the year at Wyoming was a camp meeting<sup>47</sup> held in September in Carpenter's Notch, west of the present Wyoming borough. A sermon delivered at the meeting by Mr. Pearce was particularly overwhelming. He addressed his message especially to the non-Christians. Exclaiming, "I feel the spirit of God upon me, glory, hallaluiah!" he dropped into a seat, "shouting, weeping, laughing, wonderfully moved." Lane followed the sermon with a compelling exhortation. The total effect upon the audience was very great and resulted in the conversion of three score persons, half of whom united with the church. Among those who were deeply moved were two women of prominence in the Valley, one of whom was opposed by her husband and the other by her brother, who accused the Methodists of "scaring the women to death." The latter woman was persuaded by her brothre to leave the grounds, which she did, probably never again to take any steps toward the Christian life. At this meeting Darius Williams' son and namesake appeared to have a very emotional experience, leading to his conversion. He entered the Methodist ministry but later

changed to the Presbyterian and denounced the teachings and practices he considered peculiar to Methodism. At the close of the year the membership<sup>48</sup> remained practically stationary, there being the loss of one of the colored members. Generally speaking, religious interest had abated on the charge. However, at Providence the class had been organized and placed under the leadership of a Mr. Buttolph.

At Canaan was Abraham Dawson who had been at Tioga in 1812. Lacking details as to what were the activities of the preacher and people, the record shows 223 members enrolled, an increase of 16.

The preachers on the Bridgewater charge were George Peck and Edward Paine, the latter serving his second year. Inasmuch as Brooklyn, where he had lived for a decade, was within this circuit, Paine was among old friends. Peck's appointment to Bridgewater was hailed by his colleague with an enthusiasm in which he could not share. It was the one place to which he had asked the presiding elder not to send him. Kimberlin, on hearing of the appointment, exclaimed in merriment, "O, George, you will starve to death. They will feed you on sorrel pie." In the poorer sections of those days sorrel was actually used at times for purposes similar to those for which rhubarb is used today. To take his bride of a few weeks to a region where such things were possible was abhorrent. Moreover, the charge did not have a good reputation either for piety or finance.

After the adjournment of conference which was held in Vienna, N. Y., July 1, Peck spent a week-end with his brother Andrew at the old home, and then entering his new field began his work by preaching twice in the little church in Brooklyn. Monday evening he preached in John Oakley's log house in Springville. On Tuesday he met his wife in Forty Fort and found her reactions to his appointment were more favorable than his. Nevertheless they decided to wait until he had completed one round on his circuit before they should establish themselves at Bridgewater.

Accepting the "plan" of the circuit as pursued by his predecessor, he essayed to fill the engagements as scheduled. But it was most annoying to find on arriving at several of the preaching places that no announcement of his coming had been made. He found indifference everywhere and was personally distressed by a bilious attack. Nevertheless, wherever he could get a few together he held a service. At Snake Creek amidst a hemlock forest he spoke to a handful of women. Afterward one of them sympathetically said to him, "Brother, you look sick," and invited him to her home, remarking, "I will make you well." Her home proved to have been formerly a barn to which a chimney was attached. But Mr. Peck found the place neat within. Strengthened by medicine and refreshed by slumber which he enjoyed in the granery, he set forth the next day on a twenty mile ride to Vestal, only to discover that no meeting was expected and no congregation was assembled. The next preaching place according to the plan was

on the heights east of Choconut Creek in the extreme northern part of Susquehanna county. What he found was a distressingly shabby log cabin where the woman of the house was equally shabby. Learning that no meeting was expected he pushed on to "The Hemlocks," a locality near the present Hawleyton. As there was no road thither and as he was sure he could not find his way, he secured the services of a boy who shouldered a gun and piloted him through the dense woods. On completing his round of visits he went to where his wife was staying in Forty Fort. In spite of the kind of report he was obliged to give her she declared she would abide with him on his circuit, saying, "I can live where you can!"

Messrs. Peck and Paine labored zealously and not in vain. As they made headway they met increasing opposition from the Baptists who were numerous in the region. Particularly there were two men who claimed to be Baptist ministers in spite of the doctrines which they advanced, which were not according to the established teachings of that church. Among other things they denied the deity of Jesus Christ. They also misrepresented the teachings of Methodism. One of these men was "Elder" Davis Dimack, of Montrose, whom Peck heard in a sermon at Springville. His outspoken attack on the Methodists led to an extensive correspondence between Dimack and Peck, which revealed the former as being conceited but lamentably ignorant. As for Peck, he now began an intensive study of the matter of baptism from which he gained a reputation as being an authority on the subject. But the Baptists were not the only ones who were hostile toward the Methodists. Especially at Brooklyn where the class had been depleted by removals the group encountered opposition at the hands of the Presbyterians and the Universalists.

In addition to the controversies just mentioned there was another that originated in New York where Dr. Nathan Bangs, noted Methodist preacher, historian and editor was engaged in public debate with Dr. Williston, of the Presbyterian church. Each of these men issued two volumes setting forth their views. The books found their way to Brooklyn, Pa., and were eagerly read by the respective partisans. The local class leader became convinced that he could defend the Methodist position against any Calvinist. But when the Rev. G. N. Judd, a Presbyterian who preached once in four weeks in the community, accepted a challenge to debate, the class leader persuaded George Peck to substitute for him. After agreeing to the arrangement Mr. Judd repeatedly asked for postponement and then suggested abandonment of the debate on the grounds that it might be injurious to religion!

The first quarterly meeting of the year was held at Hunt's Ferry on the Susquehanna, now North Mehoopany. On Saturday Lane preached in a log schoolhouse, and on Sunday morning in the unfinished house of John Bunnell, a large congregation being present. Following Lane's sermon Peck was requested to

preach on the subject of baptism. Presently the company made their way to the river where, the presiding elder having declined, Peck baptized several children by sprinkling and several adults by immersion. Besides the accessions at Hunt's Ferry the work continued up Mehoopany Creek as far as Forkston, at which point Peck at one time baptized a group of adults in the winter by immersion. Before he could change his clothes they were frozen upon him.

In April, at the close of the third quarter of the year, Peck was asked to complete the term at Wyoming as a substitute for Pearce who was to attend the May session of the General Conference as a delegate from the Genesee conference. His remuneration for his time at Bridgewater was \$40, and for Wyoming nothing, excepting that the conference allowed him \$18. In June he attended a camp meeting on the Bridgewater circuit, where some good results were reported. Among those present was his colleague of the earlier part of the year, Edward Paine, who seemed to be depressed. The fact that Peck noticed Paine's depression and afterward mentioned that his colleague was drowned in the Susquehanna a few days later places the two statements in very close association. However, the historian did not suggest there was any relation between the state of depression and the sad event that befell his friend. He simply declared his high appreciation and the splendid character of the man, and registered his deep sorrow over what had befallen him. When the work on the Bridgewater charge was summed up for the year the membership was shown as being 308, a gain of 8.

The preachers listed for Wyalusing were Ebenezer Doolittle and Hiram G. Warner.<sup>49</sup> The latter, who was an exhorter at this same place as early as 1815 and a local preacher a year later, was received on trial in 1818 and stationed at Owego, N. Y. He subsequently served seven years, partly within this region and partly in New York, and then located in 1830, being at that time a member of the Oneida conference. It appears that Doolittle and Warner were not in actual charge at Wyalusing until late in the year when they were reported as being present at the fourth quarterly meeting on June 24, 1820. The earlier part of the year the work was in the hands of two local preachers, E. Buttles and J. Brainard. The minutes of the quarterly meeting show that Sophronius Stocking and Waitsdell Searle were exhorters. The year's report on membership was 257 white and three colored, a net gain of 34.

At Tioga John Griffing was serving the second year on the circuit in 1819-20, and had as his assistant James Gilmore, both of whom had labored in this section earlier. In fact, Griffing began his ministry here in 1814. The gain in membership was 17, totaling 484.

# PROGRESS IN THE FACE OF DIFFICULTIES—ENDING THE THIRD DECADE

The eleventh session of the Genesee conference<sup>50</sup> convened July 20, 1820, in Canadian Niagara, Bishop George presiding. At this conference George Peck

was ordained an elder and Caleb Kendall was admitted on the recommendation of the Bridgewater circuit. Concerning Kendall this notation was made, "about 23, single, educated in Methodism, pious, studious, improving, acceptable." In those days piety ranked very highly as a recommendation for an aspirant to the Methodist ministry. This was the thirtieth year since Wyoming was listed as a circuit.

George Lane was returned for his second year as the presiding elder of the Susquehanna district, having supervision over seven circuits, namely, Wyoming, Canaan, Bridgewater, Wyalusing, Tioga, Broome and Spencer. At Wyoming Elisha Bibbins<sup>51</sup> entered upon the first of a two-year term on the charge where he began his ministry eight years earlier. A fact not given in the Minutes but supplied by Peck is that Bibbins had as assistant Jacob Shepherd because of the heavy duties of the charge. The preaching places were rather similar to what Bibbins had found before, and included: Wilkes-Barre, which "was the center of operations," Plains, Pittston and Providence. From there he went to Wilson's across the Susquehanna, to Centermoreland on the mountain, down to Kingston, where he preached in the old Forty Fort church, thence to Plymouth and over the mountain to Dallas. After that he returned to the Valley where he preached in the neighborhood of Comfort Carey, Hanover, occasionally at Captain Lee's, winding up at Wilkes-Barre. Bibbins spoke of his associate as being a man of more than the average ability, who was always alert to engage in the defense of his convictions in any religious controversy. In Wilkes-Barre the prayer meetings, which were held in private homes, were sometimes disturbed by people who considered themselves of the elite. However, there were some, such as General Bowman, Judge Scott, Joseph Slocum, and others of prominence, who proved to be staunch friends of the Methodists. A newly formed class at Centermoreland<sup>52</sup> had on its membership roll the family names of Brown, Pace, Hallstead, Vincent, Snyder and Weld. The year showed prosperity in regard to membership,<sup>53</sup> there being 397 white and 13 negro members at the end of the year, a gain, respectively, of 51 and 3.

George Peck,<sup>54</sup> who was assigned to Canaan, after returning from conference, did not enter upon the work of the year until past the middle of August. He found it a two-weeks' circuit with a dozen preaching places but without any church edifices. As usual, resort was had to various buildings to serve as places for worship, homes, barns, schoolhouses, etc. At Bethany, which then was the county seat, the courthouse was made available. It was here that Peck held his first service in the village. It happened during a term of the court when Judge David Scott presided. The congregation filled the court room to capacity and included the judge, with whom Peck was on friendly terms, many lawyers from Wilkes-Barre, and other leading citizens.

Early in September Peck visited the home of Mrs. Peck's parents and while

there attended the annual camp meeting at Carpenter's Notch. Several young people from Wilkes-Barre were converted, including Miss Hannah Slocum who later became the wife of Judge Bennett. After the meeting "Father" Hamlin, of Salem, took Mrs. Peck, the Pecks' infant daughter, and household goods in a lumber wagon to the Hamlin home, the minister making the journey on horseback. This journey of thirty miles was rough and required the whole day. For the continuous hospitality of the home and other courtesies remuneration was offered but declined.

Because of the nature of the country and the conditions of the period, Peck found Canaan a very difficult circuit to serve. It was the area of the Beech Woods where the people were busy clearing the land and converting the forest into agricultural fields. Routes of travel could scarcely be called roads on account of the stumps and the mud that rarely dried out because of the overhanging branches. When the ground was frozen it was even worse. Swampy roads were corduroyed but were merely makeshifts, especially when the poles would wear out or rot away. Such travel was hard on man and beast. Besides this, at a time when money was almost non-existent, subsistence for the minister very largely meant dependence upon whatever produce might be offered by his parishioners. These offerings would include varn, stockings, meal, butter, pork, cheese, corn and rye. At the last quarterly meeting of the year a woman who came fifteen miles on horseback brought a quantity of maple sugar which passed as currency, and with which Peck bought a set of wooden bottom chairs. Needing a suit of clothes badly, his mother-in-law wove a piece of cloth from which a suit of clothes was to be made. While waiting for the return of the cloth from the fuller, a friend tactifully had the minister try on a new coat he had just bought, as if to prove they were about equal in size. Then the friend insisted that Peck wear it till he got another one, having noticed how shabby the old coat was. What he received in produce for the year amounted to about \$100 in value.

But in spite of the hardships of all sorts George Peck had a good year on the circuit, had made some progress in his theological studies, and had come to love the people. The people themselves felt encouraged for the future, perhaps from the realization that the membership had advanced nearly sixty in four years, of which nineteen was in this year, bringing it up to 242. However, Mr. Peck was persuaded that he ought to make a change in his field of labor, partly for the sake of his health and partly for the sake of his studies.

John Griffing,<sup>55</sup> recently of Tioga, had a profitable year at Bridgewater, where the membership advanced from 308 to 355. He was considered "one of the most powerful exhorters in the conference, and was always successful in winning souls to Christ." At several places on the circuit where the church had been losing out the tide was turned in its behalf. Particularly at Skinner's Eddy the Sturdevants, who normally were of Methodist persuasion but who had been

drawn away from their allegiance by the aggressions of "Elder" Davis Dimack,<sup>56</sup> were restored to their first choice and ever after were loyal to the Methodist church. Presumably the father of this generation of Sturdevants was the bothersome Baptist "Elder" Sturdevant of Colbert's time in 1797.

The old record book of the Wyalusing circuit<sup>57</sup> under date of Oct. 21, 1820, has the names of Asa Cummins and John Sayre as being the preachers, which is at variance from the entries in the General Minutes which list Asa Cummins and Horace Agard. Another confusing detail about the record of the Wyalusing quarterly meeting of the date mentioned is that it gives Tioga as the place where it was held. Evidently Sayre at the time was but a local preacher as his reception into conference did not occur till a year later. On the other hand Agard<sup>58</sup> had joined the conference in 1819 after having enjoyed the office of a local preacher three years. Twice later he was at Wyalusing, once in 1825 and again in 1830. Between these two dates he was the presiding elder of the Susquehanna district, going with his district into the Oneida conference at the end of his term. In 1831 he began a three-year period on the same district, at the end of which time he was made the head of the Berkshire district in New York, where he served four years. The exactions of his duties impaired his health, making it wise for him to ask for superannuation, which he with great reluctance did in 1838. Two years later his love for the ministry constrained him to accept an appointment and to attempt active service. But his physical condition rendered it impossible for him to complete the year. Being paralyzed on one side it became clear that the days of his usefulness were past. To this was added a disorder of the nervous system that caused him to pass under a mental cloud in the last two years of his life. Fearful apprehensions, gloom and mental depressions led him to despair even of heaven itself. However, a few days before the end came his mind cleared, his faith was restored and the lost joy revived. The old hymns of praise came alive to him. Visions of heaven seemed most real and brought the desired assurance. In the midst of a happy experience his death came on Jan. 8, 1850. Agard's memoir describes him as being "lucid and able in discourse, and dignified and impressive in manner. He was enlightened and discreet in the administration of discipline. As a pastor he was sympathetic, watchful and faithful." He was also "a well-bred gentleman, a thorough theologian, and an unexceptionable Christian," a man greatly beloved by all. The membership at Wyalusing this year moved up from a total of 260 to 376, three colored members being included in each instance.

The preachers assigned to Tioga were Hiram G. Warner, recently of Wyalusing, and Hiram Moore.<sup>59</sup> The latter was received into the conference this year and was named for Bridgewater in 1821. Thereafter his name is not found in the Minutes. At the end of the year the membership report showed a decrease of 69, a net of 415.

Summing up the results of thirty years of Methodist promotion in this part of the state since in 1791 Wyoming was recognized in the General Minutes, the record is impressive. Beginning with one rather tentative circuit there now were five, each one of which had from two to four times as many members as had Wyoming at the first. Beginning with one preacher there now were nine. Beginning with 100 church members there now were reported approximately 1800. It should be noted that the last figure does not represent the total accessions to the membership. Possibly the actual number brought into the church would be twice 1800 inasmuch as during the thirty years many would have died besides those who moved away and those who for various other reasons ceased to be members. The church in the wild wood was attaining power and respectability.

# IX. The Final Years in the Genesee Conference

### LANE'S THIRD YEAR—CAMP MEETING AT SPRING BROOK

THE FINAL YEARS in which Northeastern Pennsylvania was a part of the Genesee conference were not spectacular but showed consistency by following the general pattern of the years preceding. They were constructive years, building upon the substantial foundations laid by Methodist pioneers. The year 1821-22 was Lane's third year at the head of the Susquehanna district. John Sayre is given as Bibbins' assistant at Wyoming. It was the first of his nine years in the itinerancy. In 1827 he was at Canaan, in 1828 at Wyalusing, the next year becoming a member of the Oneida conference, from which he accepted a location one year later. Bibbins, benefitting by his previous year's work succeeded in strengthening the charge appreciably. The camp meeting held in September on Spring Brook, a few miles from Pittston, was one of remarkable effectiveness and spiritual satisfaction, as described in a letter from Mr. Bibbins to Dr. Peck, under date of Oct. 8. The place of prayer in relation to the meeting was especially stressed, prayer services being conducted in the tents. Here is a quotation from Mr. Bibbins' letter:

"God soon began to pour out answers to prayer, both in the awakening of the careless and comforting the mourning. On Saturday the work became more general. Abi Slocum, Ann Ike, Caroline Scofield, Sally Perkins, Ziba Bennett, and others were converted to God. The work spread like fire in dry stubble. Hannah Cortwright, her sister, and one of her cousins found rest to their souls. William Hancock was awakened, and has since found peace."

On Sunday a heavy rain scattered the indifferent, leaving the field to those of more serious mind. By evening the number who had accepted the Christian way were these: Nancy Hancock, Mary Colt, Miss Pruner and Miss Chrisman. Others who "came forward" included John Colt, Augustus Gordon, Benjamin A. Bidlack, James Gallup and Mesdames Cahoon, Bowman, Ely and Raynor. About fifty conversions result from the camp meeting which was followed by evangelistic work in Wilkes-Barre and elsewhere. Besides twenty-two that Mr. Bibbins received into the church membership at camp meeting others were received soon afterward, such as Peter Williams, Platt Hitchcock, Miss Dennis and Fanny Taggart. A few other converts of the year were Hannah Slocum, L. (Lord?) Butler, S. D. Lewis and Anning O. Cahoon. Among the approximately eighty accessions to the church there was a preponderance of young people who were most active Christians. Two names not given by Mr. Bibbins but supplied by Dr. Peck are of persons of some prominence. One was Laura Smith, sister of General Bowman's

wife, who married William Hancock. She was an ardent Christian and most active in the Kingston church. The other was Robert Miner, the youthful son of Asher Miner, historian and civic leader. For many years Robert was a steward and class leader on the Wilkes-Barre charge, a man above reproach. At the year's end there were 433 members on the circuit, a net gain of 23, which would indicate that the names of some of the former members were no longer on the roll.

John D. Gilbert,<sup>4</sup> who had been received into conference the previous year, was now at Canaan. He was a man of some ability as a preacher and attained a degree of success but did not remain with the Methodists. In 1825 he located and subsequently entered the Protestant Episcopal church. During his tenure at Canaan the membership rose from 242 to 287 white and one colored member.

The appointees at Bridgewater were Joshua Rogers and Hiram Moore, lately of Tioga. Rogers<sup>5</sup> entered the ministry in 1815. With a year's interval after being at Bridgewater he was for two years at Canaan, one year at Tioga, and then at Bridgewater again. Becoming a member of the Oneida conference at its organization in 1829, he took a superannuated relation in 1832, continuing as such until his death at Unadilla, N. Y., Jan. 16, 1849, at the age of 76. According to this data he was a man of forty-two years when he took up the ministry, was in service seventeen years and in retirement an equal length of time. He was a preacher of moderate ability who nevertheless was the source of valued personal influence. There was a rewarding increase in the enrollment this year on the Bridgewater circuit, advancing from 355 to 427.

At Wyalusing were Asa Cummins and Gaylord Judd.<sup>6</sup> Judd was one of five men who were admitted into conference from the Susquehanna district at the beginning of 1821-22. One of these, John Savre, has been mentioned in connection with Canaan. The other three were "James Hodge, single, (age not given); Benjamin Landon, about 35, wife and four children; Asa Orcutt, about 24, single." Judd was born in Connecticut, Oct. 7, 1784, and died in Candor, N. Y., March 6, 1859. At the age of eighteen he came with his parents to Windsor, N. Y., and a couple of years later became identified with the Methodist church although his earlier environment had been Congregational. The notation made in the minutes of the Genesee conference at the time of his admission runs thus: "Gaylord Judd, about 35, has five children, but provided for among his friends." The words of explanation were of course designed to show that the family would not be a charge upon the conference, a very important consideration in the Methodist ministry of those times when the "support" of a minister was very meager. After laboring as an active local preacher for a dozen years he decided to seek the wider field offered by conference membership. At the end of twenty years in the pastorate, four of which were as a supernumerary supplying charges, he retired in 1841. The years of his superannuation were a benediction to the community in which he lived. Death came to him suddenly while on his knees in prayer, an achievement this godly man could not have wished to come otherwise. Of his eight children three sons entered the ministry, Ransom, who died in the West at the age of thirty; Charles Wesley, who was a missionary in India, and W. J. Judd, for many years an honored member of the Wyoming conference.

The change in membership on the Wyalusing circuit was negligible numerically, up from 373 to 378 white and three colored members.

Hiram G. Warner and Caleb Kendall, Jr.,<sup>7</sup> were the laborers on the Tioga charge. During their term the numbers on the roll declined from 415 to 382 white and one colored members. Kendall's ministry as well as his life was brief. Entering the Genesee conference in 1820 at the age of twenty-three, he filled ten years in the effective relation, three of which were in Northeastern Pennsylvania. After being listed as a supernumerary or a superannuate from 1830 to the close of his life, his death occurred Nov. 15, 1833.

#### REVIVAL AT BENNETT'S SETTLEMENT.

The year 1822-23<sup>8</sup> completed a four-year term for George Lane on the Susquehanna district, and placed John D. Gilbert and Wm. W. Rundell on the Wyoming circuit. Rundell<sup>9</sup> came into the Genesee conference in 1818 but went into the Oneida eleven years later. Occasionally alternating from effective to supernumerary, to superannuate, to effective and finally to permanent superannuation in 1848, he was in the regular ministry twenty-five years besides three as a supply. Records at hand do not tell of the closing of his life. Moreover, the story of this year on the circuit is not related other than as given in the Minutes. The fruitfulness of the labors of Messrs. Gilbert and Rundell may be judged from the increase in membership, going from 433 up to 463 whites and one colored member.

At Canaan Elisha Bibbins<sup>11</sup> entered upon his eleventh year in the effective ranks, which was his last as such with the exception of 1836. In a late letter to Dr. Peck he spoke highly of the assistance he received from a local preacher, Solon Stocking. The preaching places on the circuit were these: Canaan Four Corners, Mount Pleasant, Bethany, Cherry Ridge, Salem, Sterling, Bennett's Settlement, Lackawaxen and the Dutch Settlement. At Bennett's Settlement there was a "sweeping revival," in which "every man and woman, and every child old enough to understand the power of pardoned sin, were brought to the knowledge of the truth except two." At Bethany where the services were held in the court room much annoyance was given by two young men, one the son of a Baptist deacon. The account of one service was related by Bibbins:

"They were accustomed to remain in the room where we held the classmeeting, but would not come within the bar. . . . On one occasion when I was present they remained as usual. While singing I walked to where they were sitting in one corner of the room,

and after singing I addressed the deacon's son as follows: 'Did you ever experience religion?' 'No, sir.' 'Do you intend to seek the pardon of your sins?' 'Yes, when God's time comes.' 'Will you be as good as your word, and seek religion now, if I prove to you that God's time has already come?' 'Yes.' I then quoted: 'Now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation.' And getting upon my knees requested him also to kneel, appealing to him as a man of honor. I made the request somewhat imperative, demanding that he should get down. But though he appeared confounded and knew not what to do, he would not kneel down. I prayed for him, however. They embraced the first opportunity to leave, and we were not troubled with them afterward."

As a Cummins and Mark Preston were in charge at Bridgewater. Preston began his ministry on this circuit, continuing it at Tioga the following year and at Canaan in 1824. But after serving charges six years he located. The membership reported at the end of this year was the same as the year before, 427.

The work on the Wyalusing circuit was in the hands of John Griffing and James Hodge. 13 The latter had only one year in the itinerancy previous to this. The next time his name appears is in the Minutes for 1830 as again being received on trial and stationed in the Oneida conference. Aside from these fragmentary references his name does not appear. It should be noted in passing that Joseph Towner who later entered the ministry for a few years, was an active layman within this circuit at this time. The quarterly conference records for Sept. 28 present his name for the first time as an exhorter, after he had been a class leader for three years. His earlier life was hampered by a lack of education such that when he was converted he could scarcely read or write. He was, however, one of nature's noblemen, and applied himself assiduously to the improvement of his life so that he might be of the greatest service. He became a man of great popularity in the best sense of the term, and a man of wide influence. His especial gift was not in preaching but in exhortation. "Often under his powerful appeals the vast multitudes would melt like wax before the fire." The year's record on membership shows a decline from 378 white and one colored to 340 white and two colored members.

Tioga was under the care of Gaylord Judd and Sophronius Stocking <sup>14</sup> during the current year. Stocking was one of two men who were admitted to conference this year from the Susquehanna district. He was described as being: "Age 22, clear of debt." From very early times the qualification of being unembarrassed by debt has been one of the requisites for reception into conference. His itinerant career covered sixteen years, half of which was in this part of the state. His location took place in 1838. The enrollment on the circuit totaled 404 whites and three colored members, an advance respectively of 22 and 2.

#### FITCH REED ON THE DISTRICT.

The Genesee conference met in Westmoreland, Oneida Co., N. Y., July 15, 1823, Bishop George presiding. From this session Fitch Reed<sup>15</sup> was sent to succeed

Lane at the head of the Susquehanna district. This was Reed's seventh year in the ministry, having been admitted to the New York conference and then transferred to the Genesee conference in 1820. Eight years later he returned to his original conference. Twenty years still later he transferred to the Oneida conference where he continued in the effective relation until his retirement in 1862. During the forty-five years of his active ministerial career he spent several in th office of presiding elder, and was otherwise recognized by the conferences within which he served.

George Lane and Gaylord Judd were the preachers in charge of the Wyoming circuit. During their term there was a decline in membership to 432 white and 2 colored members, a net loss of 32.

Preliminary to several years in the retired relation Elisha Bibbins<sup>16</sup> was a supernumerary in 1823-24 and was associated with H. G. Warner on the Canaan charge, making his second year in succession. At the time that Bibbins reported on his life-work to Dr. Peck he stated that Warner, after his location in 1930, was preaching among the Congregationalists. The church roll showed a gain of 71, with 428 white and one colored members on the records.

Caleb Kendall's fourth and Sophranius Stocking's second year in the ministry was spent upon the Bridgewater circuit, where the enrollment dropped from 427 to 394. However, inasmuch as the report of the preceding year was a repetition of that for 1822, the decline may have taken place earlier without being properly recorded.

The appointees at Wyalusing were Joshua Rogers and William Lull.<sup>17</sup> Lull was at Wyalusing the following year, and at Malone, N. Y., in 1825, after which his name is not found in the General Minutes. The membership under Rogers and Lull remained stationary, excepting that the two negroes previously reported were no longer included.

Philetus Parkus<sup>18</sup> and Mark Preston were on the Tioga charge. The former was admitted to conference in 1820, was at Tioga this and the following year, at Bridgewater for 1825 and 1826, but died on June 14, just prior to the convening of the conference of 1827. Under the ministry of Parkus and Preston there was a remarkable upsurge in the membership on this old circuit, the two categories of members advancing respectively from 404 and 3 to 584 and 7. The name of Nathaniel Chubbuck<sup>19</sup> appeared this year on the quarterly conference book as an exhorter. This man whose unique entry into Methodist fellowship has been mentioned at an earlier date, was the father of Francis S. Chubbuck who joined the Oneida conference in 1849 and the Wyoming in 1852.

### GEORGE PECK ON THE DISTRICT.

At the session of the Genesee conference,<sup>20</sup> which met July 25, 1824, in Lansing, Tompkins Co., N. Y., under the presidency of Bishops George and Hedding,

George Peck was appointed to the Wyoming circuit. However, before Peck had time to enter upon his duties there Joseph Castle brought a message from Bishop Roberts, designating Peck as the presiding elder of the Susquehanna district. His territory approximated that of the present Wyoming conference, excepting that it was much larger, extending from Ithaca and Norwich in New York on the north to Plymouth in Pennsylvania on the south, and from the Delaware river on the east to Wellsboro on the west. There were eleven charges, some being of great size. Five of them were partly or wholly within Pennsylvania, namely, Wyoming, Canaan, Bridgewater, Wyalusing and Tioga. The district boasted of 200 preaching places, only six of which possessed a church building, one of these being incomplete at the time. How many of the 19 preachers and 3,696 members and probationers were on the southern side of the state line cannot be known. When Peck assumed the duties to which he was now assigned he was only 27 years of age, several of the preachers on the district being his senior in years and experience. The work required his absence from home for a month or more at a time. This was an arduous situation not only for him but also for Mrs. Peck, especially on account of an injury that had befallen their young son by which he was partially paralyzed. However, the youthful presiding elder found some satisfaction in noting that the "Wyoming circuit exhibited strong marks of healthy growth," and that "there was an increasing interest toward the latter part of the year in various parts of the circuit."

Instead of George Peck and Joseph Castle being listed for Wyoming in 1824-25 we find Morgan Sherman<sup>21</sup> and Joseph Castle.<sup>22</sup> The former came into the conference in 1822, became a member of the Oneida conference in 1829, was transferred to the Missouri in 1836, but does not appear listed in later years. This was Castle's second year in the ministry, which was followed by two at Canaan, one at Owego, and one at Wyoming and Wilkes-Barre, after which he was in the Oneida conference. In 1839 he changed to the Troy conference and two years later to the Philadelphia, where he remained. The year registered a gain of 24, making th record 459 white and two colored members.

The Canaan preachers were Joshua Rogers and Mark Preston, whose ministry at this point manifested no special activity. Indeed the membership dropped a net of 15, to 413 white and one colored adherents.

There was a gain of exactly one member in the enrollment at Bridgewater where William Rundell and Sophranius Stocking were in charge, making the total 395.

By a new arrangement which proved to be temporary the Spencer circuit in New York was placed with Wyalusing for this year. The preachers on the combined charge were John Griffing, Caleb Kendall and Philo Barbary. Griffing had served here two years earlier. Barbary, 23 who had been admitted to the conference in 1823, had been stationed at Spencer for that year. In 1825 and 1826

he was appointed to Wyoming, and in 1829 became a member of the Oneida coference from which he was expelled the following year. Computing the enrollment the previous year at Wyalusing as 340 and at Spencer as 349 there was a loss of 44 net for the combined circuit, the later year yielding a record of 644 white and one colored members.

At Tioga Gaylord Judd and Philetus Parkus were the ministerial incumbents. Parkus had been on the charge the year before and Judd the year before that. Summing up the labors of the year there was a loss of 53 in the white membership, the final record being 531 white and seven colored members.

### UNUSUAL CAMP MEETINGS—GEORGE EVANS

The sixteenth session of the Genesee conference<sup>24</sup> was again held in Lansing, N. Y., opening on Aug. 17, 1825, under the presidency of Bishop Hedding, who reappointed Mr. Peck<sup>25</sup> to the Susquehanna district. The year was marked by doctrinal controversies into which the presiding elder was drawn, and also by notable camp meetings. The first controversy was caused by a young Universalist minister by the name of C. R. Marsh, who with unabashed zeal began the publication of a magazine, "Candid Examiner." Upon the urging of friends Mr. Peck offered papers that Marsh accepted for publication. Ultimately the periodical ceased, primarily because the publisher realized he had lost out in the discussion. The incident led Mr. Peck to take up the study of Greek so that he might the better understand the New Testament and its teachings. Another man by the name of Marsh came along, disseminating peculiar doctrines designed to controvert the Trinitarian position. An arrangement for a public debate having been arranged, Mr. Peck made special preparation for the discussion, and was easily able to worst his opponent. After he had spoken for an hour and a half the young man showed his limitations and confusion amid the laughter of the large assemblage. A few days later the anti-Trinitarian took his departure permanently.

Two camp meetings<sup>26</sup> held on the district were of especial significance. The first was on the Canaan circuit and began Sept. 7. Forty conversions were reported. The second was on the Wyoming circuit and was held at Rice's, now Trucksville, later in the same month. In writing about this meeting later in life Dr. Peck described it as being the most remarkable meeting of the sort he had known in all his ministry. The very first prayer meeting witnessed a conversion under unusual circumstances. Reuben Holgate came forward, resolved never to leave until he should obtain the sense of forgiveness. Though a sudden shower scattered all but one devoted woman who stood by, Mr. Holgate persisted. On having his attention called to the situation, Mr. Peck joined the pair and offered prayer. By now all of the congregation had returned in spite of the rain, and were giving joyous expressions of their feelings. With such a beginning the

meeting that was scheduled for one week was continued for ten days, and then was prolonged by laymen after the preachers went away to their other duties. An almost interminable number of people professed conversion during the encampment. The effects of the meetings were widespread and were felt for many years afterward even at great distances. Among those who took part in the meeting at Rice's were Darius Williams, whose singing was always a factor in any religious gathering, and "Father" Bidlack, 27 now an octogenarian but still mighty in song and prayer.

Peck's<sup>28</sup> second winter on the district was one of severe physical distress. Extremes of weather were a great impediment to the work. On one of his excursions into the northern regions Mrs. Peck accompanied him. On their way home deep snow fell at Owego, making it impossible to proceed on wheels. Improvising runners, they were able to reach Springville at which point they were obliged to secure a wagon for the remainder of the trip to Kingston. For his two years on the district Mr. Peck received less than \$150 per year. Meantime the size of the family had increased until there were four children.

The appointees<sup>29</sup> on the circuits in Northeastern Pennsylvania were these: Wyoming, John Copeland and Philo Barbary; Canaan, Joshua Rogers, Sophronius Stocking, and Joseph Castle; Wyalusing, Horace Agard and Solon Stocking; Tioga, George Evans and John Wilson, Jr.; Bridgewater, Philetus Parkus. Copeland<sup>30</sup> entered the ministry in 1822 and remained in the Genesee conference until the organization of the East Genesee conference with which he became identified in 1848. A full sketch of his life is not at hand. However, it is known that at intervals in his ministry he filled the office of presiding elder and also that during at least two periods he was agent for the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary, Lima, N. Y. It was during the pastorate <sup>31</sup> of Messrs. Copeland and Barbary there occurred the remarkable camp meeting at Trucksville, a meeting whose services sometimes continued from morning to the next day's dawn, and which resulted in the conversion of upwards of one hundred people. The effect was registered in the accessions<sup>32</sup> to the membership of the charge, which climbed from 459 white and 2 colored members to 680 and 12 respectively.

This was Rogers' second year at Canaan and the first of two years for Stocking. Joseph Castle, 33 who also was destined to serve two years on the circuit, was specifically detailed to labor at Bethany, Wayne's county seat, which as yet had not been raised to the dignity of a separate charge. One of the places visited by Stocking this year was Honesdale. 34 The camp meeting held at Canaan early in the fall of 1825 lacked the intensity and emotionalism that marked the one at Trucksville later in the same month but was nevertheless deeply effective and abiding. It is entirely possible that the difference between the manifestations in the two meetings was in no small degree due to a difference in the type of persons involved, one group being by nature more conservative than the other.

The meetings themselves were of a high order and were spiritually impressive. Both preachers and people were devoutly engaged. Many clear-cut conversions were experienced. Besides this there were several church members, both Methodists and Presbyterians, who acknowledged religious coldness and therefore sought a revived experience. For the work of the year the preachers were able to report an increase in members from 413 white and one colored to 450 white and one colored.

For reasons that do not appear there was a decided slump in the number of members reported for the Wyalusing circuit at the end of this year, the decline being down from 644 and one, in the two categories, to 324 and two. The cause for the erasure of nearly half of the membership can scarcely be laid to the charge of the ministers, especially with such a man as Horace Agard in the field. As for Solon Stocking,<sup>36</sup> there is no warrant for believing that he was responsible for it, although this was only his second year in service, after which he "was discontinued by his own request for want of health," a fact revealed in the General Minutes. A more likely explanation might be that the figures given the previous year were an error. Compared with the number of members given two years earlier there was an actual decline of only 14.

At Tioga George Evans and John Wilson, Jr., were entering upon their first experience<sup>37</sup> in the itinerant ranks. It is very likely that the latter was the son of the John Wilson who also was at Tioga fourteen years earlier but who remained in the traveling ministry only four years. Wilson, Jr., 38 survived in the ministry only half as long, being at Bridgewater after Tioga and then locating at the end of the second year of his labors. By way of contrast George Evans<sup>39</sup> served twenty-three full years and was in the midst of his twenty-fourth year when he was stricken in death. At the time of his decease he was nearly fifty-nine years of age, having been born at Milford, Pa., Jan. 31, 1790, and dying Jan. 25, 1849, "at his residence in Greene," N. Y. The earlier period of his career is described as that of a youth of the wilds, unable to read, and seldom wearing shoes. At the age of nineteen his long continued religious conviction led him to adopt a life of prayer and to improve himself in every way possible. One of his first ambitions thenceforward was to acquire the ability to read so that he might come to a knowledge of the Scriptures. In spite of the lack of early advantages he ultimately attained considerable literary ability as well as theological understanding. In the service of the church Evans made progress, becoming successively class leader, exhorter and local preacher. As a local preacher he justified the confidence reposed in him, and after serving some years in that capacity he assisted on the Tioga circuit under the presiding elder in 1824, being stationed there the following year under the appointment of the bishop.

George Evans was a zealous Welshman whose fiery soul and lofty imagination often sublimated his responsive hearers to high religious ecstacy. In his pastoral

oversight he had few equals and always made some valuable contribution to the personal lives of the people whom he visited. Entirely unpretentious in dress, the way he wore his plain, homespun clothing revealed his unconcern for such details of outward appearance. Yet his strong qualities of character and native ability commanded a great following such that frequently when he was announced to be the preacher members of other communions would excuse themselves from their ordinary places of worship to hear this unique and compelling circuit rider. It should not be inferred that his sermons appealed chiefly to the emotions for they were characterized by illustrative material much of which was taken from the knowledge of science. The clarity and practical application of his discourses drew the interest of people in every stratum of society. At the same time his method with backbiters as well as with such as were drawn away by devious cults was well designed to restrain the one group and restore the other. As a preacher he was at his best in the presence of large crowds from whom he derived much of the stimulus that challenged his powers. Sometimes the meetings were held in groves and were attended by throngs of people. "On these occasions his eloquence was overwhelming, and the vast assembly would leave the spot in breathless silence, unbroken save by the sobs of the stricken penitent." However, if the company was small, Evans often failed.

Approximately half of Evans' ministry was spent in Northeastern Pennsylvania. After 1828 he was a member of the Oneida conference.

At the end of the year 1825-26 the membership on the Tioga circuit had a net decline of 41, the report showing an enrollment of 497. The circuit itself was in the process of disintegration due to the formation of new charges taken from its territory.

Philetus Parkus was the preacher on the Bridgewater charge, the central point of which was what formerly had been known as Hopbottom.<sup>40</sup> In this year, 1825, the name of the post office was changed from Hopbottom to Brooklyn. At the year's end 414 members were reprized, a gain of 19.

# WILKES-BARRE SEPARATED FROM WYOMING-TIOGA'S LAST APPEARANCE

The Genesee conference<sup>41</sup> convened in Palmyra, N. Y., June 7, 1826, and had as its president Bishop Hedding. George Peck, having requested to be relieved of the duties of the district, was appointed to the Wyoming circuit, and was succeeded on the district by Horace Agard whom he nominated for the place. Philo Barbary was the junior preacher. At the end of the first quarter of the conference year the "society" in Wilkes-Barre requested the presiding elder to designate Mr. Peck to labor exclusively at that place, with the exception that the field included Hanover, Plains and Newport. Three preaching services were required each Sunday. Before the change was made Peck had already moved

into a small parsonage in Wilkes-Barre. The Methodists having had no edifice of their own in which to worship, they petitioned the county commissioners for the privilege of holding services in the upper hall in the court house. With the assistance of the Hon. David Scott and the Hon. George Denison, the arrangement was made and a lease issued to run for ten years at the nominal payment of ten cents per annum. The document bore the date of March 8, 1827, and was signed by Deodat Smith, Arnold Colt and John Bittenbender, comissioners, and David Scott, George Peck and Sharp D. Lewis, trustees.

To assist Barbary, who was now on his second year at Wyoming, Daniel Torry<sup>42</sup> was appointed by the presiding elder. Torry was born about 1800 and died Sept. 30, 1857. His actual entry into the effective ranks was in 1827 when he was received on trial in the Genesee conference. Due to the inclusion of his charge within the bounds of the newly formed Oneida conference in 1829 he was a member of that conference until the organization of the Wyoming conference in 1852 when his relationship was changed to the latter. Of his sixteen years under the appointment of the bishop all but five were served in Northeastern Pennsylvania. Taking the superannuate relation in 1838 and again for the years 1842 to 1846, inclusive, he retired permanently in 1849. No memoir of his life was published, by some oversight.

In spite of much rowdyism there was a successful camp meeting on the Wyoming circuit in the early fall of this year. Under the total ministerial supervision of Messrs. Peck, Barbary and Torry the membership<sup>43</sup> of the circuit as reported at the conference of 1827 was 756 white and 16 colored, a gain of 76 and 4 in the respective categories.

Three men were detailed for service on the Canaan circuit for the year 1826-27, namely, Sophronius Stocking, Joseph Castle and Joseph Pearsall. For the former two it was their second year at this point. Late in the conference year, namely, on Feb. 22, 1827, Castle<sup>44</sup> was united in marriage to Mary Ann Myers, a sister of Mrs. George Peck. Beginning his ministry with this appointment, Pearsall<sup>45</sup> continued in the Genesee conference until 1850 when he transferred to the Wisconsin conference. Membership on the charge suffered a decline of 46, being reported as 406 whites and one negro.

Philetus Parkus remained at Bridgewater<sup>46</sup> and had as junior preacher John Wilson, Jr. The fact that the former's illness led to his death within the year, and that the latter desisted from preaching at about the same time warrant the assumption that the circuit lacked the kind of ministry essential for effectiveness. Indeed the membership report would confirm this conclusion, there being a drop from 414 down to 400. However, at the very time that Parkus was confined to bed a memorable camp meeting was conducted at Lyman's Settlement in the town of Springville. Devoted laymen and neighborly preachers carried on the work both during the encampment and afterward. Among those who participated

were George Peck, Joseph Castle, Elisha Bibbins and Elisha Cole. "Father Cole" delivered one of his typical sermons, discoursing about the "cloud coming up from the sea the bigness of a man's hand." Outlining the plan of his sermon, he declared that he would first philosophize his subject, next he would analogize it, and third he would theologize it. Unique as it was, his sermon did have practical effect. Bibbins who was a superannuate at this time and residing in Brooklyn was designated to look after the work in that part of the charge.

Many conversions resulted from the camp meeting. One case was that of a young couple. The wife was deeply affected and begged her reluctant husband to allow her to remain, if only for another hour. When he remarked, "You may stay an hour, if that will do you any good," she turned imploringly to the preachers who were standing around, and exclaimed, "O do pray for me, now, right away, for the time is precious." Being in a tent she fell upon her knees, and, resting her head upon the knees of her seated husband, she cried out for divine mercy. Ere the hour was up the young woman arose with a smile upon her face and said to her husband, "now I am ready to go home." Meantime a change of attitude had taken place on his part. He was quite willing to remain and witness the songs of praise and the lusty shouting of triumphant souls. Before the meeting was over he himself joined with the others in the happy experience of the newly found life.

Another instance of unusual interest was that of a girl of some ten years of age who was visiting her uncle in Brooklyn, Mr. James Noble. The young miss was happily converted at an afternoon meeting, and on being conducted to her uncle she threw her arms around his neck and enthusiastically cried out, "O my dear uncle, the Lord has blessed my soul." Mr. Noble, who was not as yet a Christian, was manifestly embarrassed and replied, "Has he, indeed? I am very glad." Then, struggling against his emotions, he took his niece in his arms, as joyous tears suffused her face. At the next meeting Mr. Noble yielded himself to the Christian way of life and thereafter proved to be an active laymen in the church.

John Griffing who twice before had ministered at Wyalusing was named for this charge for the current year. Associated with him was David A. Shepard, <sup>47</sup> a man who spent forty-eight years in the effective ministry. Born in Augusta, Oneida Co., N. Y., June 2, 1802, experiencing conversion at the age of sixteen, an exhorter at eighteen, a local preacher at twenty, David Shepard became a member of the Genesee conference in 1824, of the Oneida conference in 1829 and of the Wyoming in1852. During his ministerial career he was a pastor twenty-seven years, a presiding elder for sixteen, and the chaplain of Auburn State Prison for a total of five years, alternating in these various forms of ministry. He was a superannuate in 1856 and again from 1873 to the close of his life which came on Oct. 8, 1876. About one-third of his years of service were

spent in Northeastern Pennsylvania. Born almost at the beginning of the nine-teenth century David Shepard carried much of the atmosphere of early Methodist devotion down through his life span of seventy-four years. Though his formal education was elementary he succeeded in acquiring a great store of knowledge that contributed to his efficiency in every way. As a preacher he was fluent and even eloquent at times. Sincere and sympathetic, he had a wide influence among the people. He was not only an able administrator but was also an evangelist whose zealous labors were especially rewarded in Binghamton, Wilkes-Barre and elsewhere.

At the eyear's end the membership on the Wyalusing circuit advanced from 324 whites and two negroes to 410 whites and one negro.

In 1826 the old Tioga circuit<sup>48</sup> was listed as an appointment for the last time after a quarter of a century of honorable mention. It is true that the name appears among the charges in the Genesee conference. But aside from being identical in name there was no relation between the old and the new either in geographic description or otherwise. The old circuit which Colbert fashioned on his first adventure into the frontier ceased to exist as the result of the formation of many new charges from its original territory. In spite of all of this the records show that at the close of the year there were 566 white and 7 colored members as compared with 497 whites when the year began. The men who labored at Tioga were Joshua Rogers and Joseph Towner. Rogers had served in this section before. Towner<sup>49</sup> was received on trial this year, was continued on trial the following year and given an appointment. After an interval in which no mention of him is found in the Minutes his name appears again as being received on trial in 1830. Never advancing beyond that stage, no trace of him is found later than 1832.

## CONFERENCE SESSION IN WILKES-BARRE—SILAS COMFORT.

The eighteenth session of the Genesee conference<sup>50</sup> was held in Wilkes-Barre, convening on Thursday, June 14, 1827, Bishop Enoch George presiding. This was a distinct recognition of the Methodism of this section whence proceeded very much of the development of the church in the entire area that constituted the conference. It was from here that William Colbert and the other pioneer preachers advanced northward and into the lake country of Central and Western New York, blazing trails along the Susquehanna and the Chemung rivers. Since their day an entirely new generation had arisen, carrying on the work so nobly and heroically inaugurated, greatly multiplied in number and manning the field as far north as Ogdensburg and as far west as Buffalo. The later preachers, no less devoted than the earliest, were keeping pace with the material and physical development of the country, and in no small way contributed to that develop-

ment by providing the incentive that comes from the spiritual objective in life. These preachers from Northern Pennsylvania and from half of New York were now converging to the point where nearly two score years earlier the work which they represented was born and cradled. Counting the new entrants, the retired and those about to locate, there were 81 of them. A vast change had taken place in the personnel of the conference within the relatively brief span of its existence. Anning Owen and many of the other "fathers" were gone. Only the old hero Ben Bidlack remained of the original circuit riders.

George Peck<sup>51</sup> being the conference host, naturally very much of the responsibility for the entertainment of the conference devolved upon him. Although there was no Methodist church edifice the minister did have a parsonage which he personally painted. He also set out a row of trees and built a fence upon the premises. As this was the first assemblage of the sort in this section of the country much interest was manifested in it locally as well as elsewhere. The citizens in general cooperated magnificently according the hospitality of their homes to the visiting clergy. Then as well as for three quarters of a century afterward the "entertainment" of the preachers was gratis. A very fraternal attitude was assumed by the various denominations in the community, which threw open the doors of their churches for the accommodation of the conference.

The inter-church cooperation was especially marked on the part of the members of the Presbyterian and the Protestant Episcopal churches. It was a matter of keen regret that this splendid spirit of Christian neighborliness was rudely shattered by an indiscreet member of the conference who at the previous session had been asked to deliver an address on "Natural and Moral Ability." Whether there had been any real provocation or not the speaker seized the opportunity to make a vicious attack upon Calvinism, apparently oblivious of the utter lack of courtesy that was due to the generous people of Wilkes-Barre, whose guest he was, many of whom were ardent adherents of the teachings of John Calvin. Expressive of the deep resentment that resulted a group of Presbyterians waited upon Mr. Peck before breakfast the next morning and asked him if he "approved of the sermon." Under the circumstances he took a non-committal position and merely referred the group to the offending preacher. It was an affair that all regretted, and caused a distressing division in the community for many years to come. On conference Sunday great sermons were preached by Bishop George and John Emory who was an agent of the publishing house and later was elected a bishop.

Bishop George reappointed Agard to the Susquehanna district and Peck to Wilkes-Barre which for the first time was listed as a separate charge. On the whole it was a very satisfactory year on the Wilkes-Barre charge in spite of the scanty support of less than \$100 paid to the minister. Peck acknowledged that the people were poor for the most part. The few exceptions among the church

members were John Carey and David Richards, old residents, and Moses Woods, a Wesleyan Methodist from England ,who settled a mile below Wilkes-Barre, and for whom the neighborhood was called Woodville. These were men of substance according to current standards. Joseph Slocum was an especially generous contributor to the church. The earliest figures we have of the membership of the Wilkes-Barre church are given at the close ow the year as 132 white and 13 colored.

The preachers at Wyoming for 1827-28 were Sophronius Stocking and Miles H. Gaylord. This was Gaylord's<sup>52</sup> first year in the ministry and his only appointment in this section with one exception. Two years later he entered the Oneida conference and in 1836 became a member of the newly formed Black River conference, where he remained till past the middle of the century. The record of the later years of his life are not easily available. The report for the year on the Wyoming circuit listed 560 white and one negro members as compared with 756 and 16, respectively, at the previous report. The decline in membership may be partly accounted for by the separation of Wilkes-Barre from the original charge.

At Canaan John Sayre was the appointee, having Silas Comfort<sup>53</sup> as his associate. The latter was born in Deer Park, Dutchess county, N. Y., May 18, 1803, and died in Union, Broome county, N. Y., Jan. 10, 1868. Professing conversion at the age of nine, and made a class leader at eighteen, he united with the Genesee conference at the session from which he was appointed to Canaan. From this time forward he was in the effective ministry until 1866 when he became a supernumerary. Meantime he became a member of the Oneida conference in 1829, of the Black River conference on its organization in 1836, being immediately transferred to the Missouri conference, and again of the Oneida conference in 1841. Sixteen of his active years in the ministry he served in the office of presiding elder. Recognizing the inadequacy and limitations of his early education, he applied himself resolutely to the acquisition of knowledge in many fields including science, the classical languages, general literature and systematic theology.

The memoir which Fitch Reed prepared in honor of his good friend and colleague Silas Comfort throws light upon the latter's studious habits, in the following passage: "Studying largely on horseback, reading by torch light, conning his lesson amid the confusion of families, rising to his task uniformly at four o'clock, winter and summer, and to prevent failure at this point, habitually carrying his own candle snugly stowed in his valise, these were some of the means by which, especially in the early period of his ininerant life, he surmounted obstacles to literary progress and made himself a scholar in the truest sense." He published several volumes and contributed articles to the church press, some of which were reprinted abroad. It was because of these and other achievements that Ohio Wesleyan University conferred upon him the honorary title of Doctor

in Divinity. Three times he was a delegate to the General Conference, a fact that bears witness of the esteem in which his conference held him for his ability. Coupled with his evangelistic passion was his sense of integrity and fair play. As an illustration of this last named characteristic may be cited the case of a white man and a negro involved in a church trial while he was in Missouri. Mr. Comfort accepted the testimony of the negro, which proved to be the deciding testimony, against the white man. Ordinarily the church followed the practice of the state, which was that negroes could not be witnesses against whites in slave states. When the Missouri conference censured Mr. Comfort for his action he appealed to the General Conference which revised the findings of the Missouri conference in regard to the censure. The decision of the higher body was the more remarkable in view of the fact that the South at that time was very powerful both in state and in church.

The membership on the Canaan circuit remained almost stationary this year, the net gain being only two, leaving it at 409.

Daniel Torry, who was received into conference this year on the recommendation of the Wyoming circuit quarterly conference, was the junior preacher associated with Joshua Rogers on the Bridgewater circuit. At the end of the year the report showed an advance in membership for the charge from 400 to 416.

At Wyalusing the preachers were Hiram G. Warner, who had been there once before, and D. A. Shepard, who was serving his second year on the circuit and his second in the ministry. Aside from the membership statistics there are no other data at hand. The report on members showed an increase of 60 and 1 in the two usual categories, the result being 470 white and two colored in the enrollment.

George Peck<sup>54</sup> and Horace Agard, having been elected delegates to the General Conference at the previous session of the Genesee conference, they set out with Peck's horse and carriage on April 22, 1828, for Pittsburgh which was the place of meeting. In spite of a fall of snow that impeded their progress they reached their destination in eight days. From the local standpoint the most vital question that arose in the General Conference was with reference to the division of the Genesee conference. The opponents of the proposal argued strongly that such a division would be incompatible with the policy of maintaining larger units of circuits, districts and conferences, which they believed desirable. However, the proponents, believing that the conference as then constituted was so large as to be unweildly, succeeded in accomplishing their purpose which was to provide for what a year later became the Oneida conference.

Just before the close of the conference year, namely, on July 9, occurred the sudden death of Mrs. Joseph Castle, Mrs. Peck's sister, formerly Miss Mary Ann Myers.

PLANNING FOR DIVISION OF THE CONFERENCE—LAST YEAR IN THE GENESEE

July 28, 1828, the Genesee clonference<sup>55</sup> assembled for its 19th annual session in Ithaca, N. Y., under the presidency of Bishop George. The committee on the division of the conference made its report, citing reasons for a division and making proposals for the procedure to be followed in the case. The report was adopted by which the nine districts of the conference became ten by the convening time a year later, four of them remaining in the territory that retained the name of Genesee, and six being placed in a group that was to be designated the Oneida conference, 56 making this the nineteenth American conference. The new organization was to bear the name that for many years had been applied to one of the districts within the previous establishment. When the new arrangement was consummated the Susquehanna district that had had an honorable history for twenty-five years and that continued for twenty-four years more went almost intact into the Oneida conference where it remained until the formation of the Wyoming conference in 1852 when it disappeared. Some of its parts were incorporated in the Wyoming district which was formed in 1843. The thirty-seven charges that represented Northeastern Pennsylvania in 1852 constituted two of the four districts of the Wyoming conference and also supplied three charges each for the two other districts.

Horace Agard was returned to the Susquehanna district for the third of a four-year term as presiding elder. Wilkes-Barre for this and the next year was again a part of the Wyoming circuit, after which it thenceforward stood by itself. For this one year the name of the charge was "Wyoming and Wilkes-Barre." The preachers on the circuit were Joseph Castle and Silas Comfort. On account of illness in his family George Peck, who was to serve the Ithaca charge, arranged with Mr. Castle to exchange duties for three months, but was able to move to his new field in October. The combined membership<sup>57</sup> of Wyoming and Wilkes-Barre declined a net of 55, being 636 white and fifteen colored members by 1829.

At Canaan John Parker<sup>58</sup> and V. M. Coryell<sup>59</sup> were the preachers in charge. The former came into the conference in 1822 and continued therein until the formation of the East Genesee conference in 1848 when he became identified with it. Throughout this period and beyond he served as a pastor. Vincent M. Coryell was born in Tioga, Tioga Co., N. Y., in June, 1800, and died Nov. 5, 1889, in Waverly, N. Y. He was a man of noble physique and excellent mind, and possessed a pleasing voice. Applying himself to study he became acquainted with the Latin and Greek languages in his teens. Fitting himself for the legal profession, he began practice in Bath, N. Y. However, the early death of his young wife caused him to reflect upon the significance of life and of death, and turned him away from his earlier skepticism to a study of the Bible. From this he was led to dedicate his life to God, and in particular to the preaching of the

Gospel. At the age of twenty-five he received an exhorter's license and shortly afterward a local preacher's license by the authority of which he began to preach in the vicinity of his birthplace.

Mr. Coryell's admission to conference coincided with his appointment to Canaan. He was in the effective relation for twenty-four years, the first three and the last one year of which were in Northeastern Pennsylvania. Within that period he served some of the largest churches in the conferences of which he was a member and a term as presiding elder. Changing his relation to the Oneida conference in 1829, he became a member of the Black River conference in 1836, but the following year returned to the Oneida conference where he remained until the organization of the Wyoming conference in 1852. Thereafter he was a supernumerary for four years, and then a superannuate from 1856 to the close of his life. Physical infirmities dictated that he desist from ministerial activities and in the later years of his life prevented him from attending the services of the church. However, during the relatively short career in effective service he proved his worth as a minister and was happy to leave a record of more than 3,000 conversions, from among whom a dozen entered the ministry.

John Parker<sup>60</sup> published in the Christian Advocate an account of the execution of a murderer by the name of Truman Matthews, at Bethany, Oct. 24, 1828. Several times Parker visited the condemned man who professed to be a Universalist. On the day of execution, however, the criminal experienced a great change and renounced Universalism in favor of the teachings imparted to him by Mr. Parker. This afforded the latter the opportunity of emphasizing the Methodist doctrines and to cite the criminal as an illustration of one who had been deceived by Universalist teachings. Naturally there were some who took exception to his remarks.

One of Coryell's preaching places was Daleville<sup>61</sup> in the town of Covington, where a class had been formed two years earlier by Wm. Noble, a local preacher from Sterling. Members of the class were: Thomas Depew, Mr. and Mrs. John Fish, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Rush and Mrs. David Dale. From this class the work at Moscow originated.

The definite development at Carbondale<sup>62</sup> began this year when a group of Methodists initiated meetings in the home of Vene Lee. Besides Mr. Lee were Jesse Garlner, James Birdsall, Wanton Hill, Stephen Marsh, Jesse Clark, Addison Clark and H. B. Jadwin. All but the Clarks were supposed to have been heads of families, the members of which were also connected with the class. Mrs. Lee's brother, William Griffin, a local preacher, was the earliest ministerial helper in the community which became a part of the Canaan charge.

At the end of the year the circuit numbered 448, an increase of 39.

Daniel Torry and Peter Wentz, Jr., 63 were at Bridgewater. Wentz was admitted to the conference this year, remained on trial the following year and was sent

to Canaan, but is not mentioned later. The membership report in 1829 appeared as 448, a gain of 32.

The appointees at Wyalusing were John Sayre and Charles Nash.<sup>64</sup> Nash was received on trial at this time but served in the effective relation only seven years, all of which were spent in this part of the state. In 1841 he located, prior to which he was a superannuate for five years and then a supernumerary for one year, serving as a supply. Numerically the charge suffered the loss of 121 members this year, including one colored, the final report standing at 350 white and one colored members. Doubtless the decrease stemmed from the fact that a new circuit was formed in the adjoining township of Pike from which it took its name. This new unit in 1829 was credited with 155 members. Nine years later the name of Orwell was substituted for Pike, taking its name from another neighboring town.

With the assembling and organization of the Oneida conference<sup>65</sup> at Cazenovia, N. Y., on June 10, 1829, the older period came to a close and a new era began. As the Susquehanna district passed into the new conference it had thirteen charges, counting Wvoming and Wilkes-Barre as one. Northeastern Pennsylvania claimed five of the thirteen. Forty years had passed since the first circuit rider had ventured into these parts. Upon the foundations heroically laid by Anning Owen, the blacksmith, and such preachers as Nathaniel B. Mills, Joseph Lovell, James Campbell, William Colbert, and others, both laymen and ministers, there had been established a broadening and deepening structure that for the years to come was to affect beneficently all phases of human life not only in the immediate territory involved but also far out into the regions beyond. The total effect of the work done can scarcely be measured by the 2,053 members enrolled at the end of the forty years. What all of this meant for the civic, moral, intellectual and spiritual well-being of the population cannot be statistically enumerated. The figures given do not so much denote an achievement in itself as a prophecy of the progress of the church in the after periods. The results attained were but the beginnings of Methodist in Northeastern Pennsylvania.

# References and Notes

## THE BACKGROUND

- 1. George Peck, Wyoming, Its History, Stirring Incidents and Romantic Adventures, (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1841), pp. 9, 10; George Peck, Early Methodism within the Bounds of the old Genesee Conference, (Carlton and Porter, New York, 1860), p. 19, (respectively referred to as, Peck, Wyoming, and Peck, E. M.); Wm. L. Stone, The Poetry and History of Wyoming, (Wiley and Putnam, New York and London, 1841), p. 78.
- 2. A Howry Epenshade, Pennsylvania Place Names, (Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa., 1925), pp. 135, 136.
- 3. The Historical Record, a Quarterly Publication Devoted Principally to the Early History of the Wyoming Valley, Etc., F. C. Johnson, Ed., (press of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Record, 1895), V, Article on Indian Names.
  - 4. Stone, op. cit., p. 175.
- 5. Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779, Prepared by Frederick Cook, Sec'y of State, New York, (Knapp, Peck and Thompson, Auburn, N. Y., 1887), pp. 4, 103, 107 122, 146, 215, 241.
- 6. History of Wyoming in a Series of Letters from Charles Miner to His Son, William Penn Miner, Esq., (J. Crissey, Philadelphia, 1845), p. xi; Emily Blackman, History of Susquehanna County, Pa., (Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger, Philadelphia, 1873), p. 9, quoting Hollister; Peck, E. M., p. 19; Alfred Mathews, History of Wayne, Pike and Monroe Counties, Pa., (R. T. Peck and Co., Philadelphia, 1886), pp. 56, 57, quoting early authority; S. Fletcher Weyburn, Following the Connecticut Trail from Delaware River to Susquehanna Valley, Compiled and Edited by, (Anthracite Press, Scranton, Pa., 1932), pp. 11, 15.
- 7. William Brewster, History of the Certified Township of Kingston, Pa., 1769-1929, (Published by the School District of the Borough of Kingston, Printed by Smith-Bennett Corporation, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1930), pp. 358, 382.
  - 8. Geological Survey Maps.

- 9. Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Journal of Rev., (Vols. I & III, Eaton and Mains, New York, undated, Vol. II, Scott and Lane, New York, 1852), II, p. 200.
- 10. Stewart Pearce, Annals of Luzerne County, Pa., Etc., (2nd edition, J. P. Lip-pincott and Co., 1866), p. 188 and map; Mathews, op. cit., map opp., p. 2.
  - Stone, op. cit., pp. 3-50.
     Peck, Wyoming, p. 348.
- 13. Pearce, op. cit., pp. 20-29; Mathews, op. cit., pp. 1 ff.; Isaac A. Chapman, Esq., A Sketch of the History of Wyoming, (Press of Sharp D. Lewis, Wilkes-Barre, 1830), pp. 3-35; New International Encyclopedia (1902), X. pp. 179, 180; T. Wood Clarke, The Bloody Mohawk, (The Mac-Millan Co., New York, 1940), pp. 1-11.
- 14. Parker in Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geographical Society, Rev. H. E. Hayden, M.A., ed., X, (E. B. Yordy Co., Wilkes-Barre, 1910), pp. 65 ff.
  - 15. New Intern. Encycl., I, p. 343.

    - 16. *Ibid*, V, p. 771. 17. *Ibid*, V, pp. 771, 772.
- 18. Mathews, op. cit., pp. 1 ff.; Stone, op. cit., pp. 77 ff.
- 19. Mathews, op. cit., p. 3; David Craft, History of Bradford County, Pa., (Published by L. H. Everts & Co., press of J. P. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1878), p.
- 11; Stone, op. cit., p. 82. 20. Henry Blackman Plumb, History of Hanover Township, Including Sugar Notch, Ashley and Nanticoke Boroughs; also a History of the Wyoming Valley, (Robert
- Bauer, Wilkes-Barre, 1850), p. 75. 21. Pearce, op. cit., pp. 20-29; Chapman, op. cit., pp. 5-55; Mathews, op. cit., pp. 1 ff.; Stone, op. cit., pp. 78 ff.
  - 22. Plumb, op. cit., pp. 25 ff.
  - 23. Ibid, p. 40.
  - Weyburn, op. cit., pp. 89, 90. 24.
- 26. H. Hollister, M.D., History of Lackawanna Valley, 5th edition, (J. P. Lippin-
- cott & Co., Philadelphia, 1885), p. 317.
  27. Weyburn, op. cit., pp. 12, 13, quoting an address by Oscar J. Harvey, May, 1924.
  - 28. Craft, op. cit., pp. 13-17.

29. Pearce, op. cit., pp. 29-31.

30. Originally denoted the bend in the river and not a town. Probably the vicinity of Oakland was meant.

31. Plumb, op. cit., p. 75.

32. Peck, Wyoming, p. 43.

33. Weyburn, op. cit., pp. 79 ff.; Pearce, op. cit., pp. 30, 31.

34. Hollister, op. cit., pp. 49, 50.

Ibid., pp. 288, 317 ff. 35. 36. Mathews, op. cit., p. 945.

Ibid, p. 747. 37.

Hollister, op. cit., pp. 292, 293.

39. Cf., Holister, op. cit., pp. 49 ff. and Weyburn, op. cit., pp. 21 ff.

40. Hollister, op. cit., pp. 49, 133; Mathews, op. cit., pp. 7, 54 ff.

41. Mathews, op. cit., p. 71.

- Pearce, op. cit., pp. 29-31, 437; Hollister, op. cit., pp. 113, 138.
- 43. Mathews, op. cit., pp. 99, 100, 221. 44. Pearce, op. cit., p. 439; Hollister, op. cit., pp. 317 ff. 45. Mathews, op. cit., pp. 901, 902.

46. Pearce, op. cit., pp. 29-31.

47. Mathews, op. cit., p. 901 and else-

- where.
- 48. Pearce, op. cit., pp. 30, 31; Hollister, op. cit., p. 49 and map opp. p. 31; Weyburn, op. cit., pp. 24, 25.

49. Blackman, op. cit., p. 24.

50. Hollister, op. cit., pp. 284-288.

51. Mathews, op. cit., p. 771. Weyburn, op. cit., p. 24. 52.

- 53.
- Blackman, op. cit., pp. 192, 512. Ibid, p. 238; Weyburn, op. cit., pp. 54. 44, 52.

55. Blackman, op. cit., p. 284.

Mathews, op. cit., pp. 222, 771. 56. 57. Blackman, op. cit., pp. 62, 71.

58. Ibid., p. 285.

Weyburn, op. cit., p. 24. 59.

60. Blackman, op. cit., pp. 284, 510.

Ibid., p. 72. 61.

Peck, E. M., p. 155.

- 63. Historical Record, op. cit., IV, pp. 109, 110.
- 64. Chapman, op. cit., pp. 5-87; Proceedings and Collections, supra, XI, pp. 65-102.
- 65. Mathews, op. cit., pp. 4-53; Craft, op. cit., pp. 11 ff.

66. Pearce, op. cit., pp. 20-29.

67. Blackman, op. cit., pp. 1 ff.; Chapman, op. cit., pp. 36-47; Craft. op. cit., pp. 29-49; Miner, op. cit., pp. 62-134, 153-181, 309 ff.; Peck, Wyoming, pp. 14-22; Plumb, op. cit., pp. 62 ff.; Pearce, op. cit., pp. 58-99; Hon. Stanley Woodward in Proceed-ings, Etc., supra, IV, pp. 95-107, "The Pennamite and the Yankee in Wyoming";

Gen'l Index to the Colonial Records in 16 vols. and to the Penn. Archives in 12 vols., by Samuel Hazard under an Act of the Gen'l Assembly of Pa., (Joseph Severns & Co., Phila., 1860), pp. 73, 74 on Connecticut; The Susquehanna Company Papers, (Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, 1930), I-V, and indexes. 68. Peck, Wyoming, p. 357.

Mathews, op. cit., p. 65; Blackman, op. cit., pp. 32, 33.
70. Miner, op. cit., pp. 90 ff.; Blackman,

op. cit., pp. 6-11.

Mathews, op. cit., p. 32. 71. Plumb, op. cit., p. 143.

73. Peck, Wyoming, pp. 27, 28; Pearce, op. cit., pp. 63 ff.; 90 ff.; Mathews, op. cit., pp. 2 ff.; Blackman, op. cit., pp. 4-14. 74. Weyburn, op. cit., p. 90.

75. Pearce, op. cit., pp. 120 ff.

76. Ibid, pp. 63 ff. 77. Ibid, pp. 58 ff.

78. Craft, op. cit., p. 35; Blackman, op. cit., pp. 9-23; Chapman, op. cit., pp. 88-144; Peck, Wyoming, pp. 63-68.

Miner, op. cit., p. 346; Peck, Wyo-

ming, pp. 181-186.

80. Mathews, op. cit., pp. 98-103.

81. Peck, Wyoming, p. 66. 82. Pearce, op. cit., pp. 58-99.

Blackman, op. cit., pp. 9-25. 83. Craft, op. cit., pp. 38-40.

Peck, Wyoming, pp. 20 ff.; Craft, 85. op. cit., p. 31.

86. Peck, Wyoming, p. 184; Craft, op. cit., pp. 41-44.

87. Clarke, op. cit., pp. 235 ff.; Miner,

op. cit., pp. 164 ff. 88. Pearce, op. cit., pp. 58 ff. Craft, op. cit., pp. 69 ff.

Clarke, op. cit., supra. 90.

91. Ibid, pp. 242 ff. 92. Mathews, op. cit., pp. 79, 80.

93. Clarke, op. cit., p. 343. 94. Peck, Wyoming, pp. 27 ff.

Pearce, op. cit., pp. 78 ff. 95.

Clarke's statement that there were from 3,000 to 5,000 people is both indefinite and fantastic. Population reports (See Pearce, op. cit., p. 178) show there were 1922 people in Westmoreland in 1774. Luzerne county, organized Dec. 27, 1786, which then included most of the northeastern part of the state, according to U. S. Census report, had in 1790 only 4,904 people, although the number of inhabitants had accelerated after the war.

97. Pearce, op. cit., pp. 90 ff.; Craft, op.

cit., p. 37; Peck, Wyoming, p. 28.

98. On whole subject see: Miner, op. cit., pp. 208 ff.; Peck, Wyoming, pp. 38 ff.; Pearce, op. cti., pp. 126 ff.; Craft, op. cit., pp. 73 ff.; Plumb, op. cit., pp. 100 ff.; Clarke, op. cit., pp. 244, 245. 99. Peck, Wyoming, pp. 362 ff.

100. Miner, op. cit., pp. 204 ff.; Peck, Wyoming, pp. 284-290; Pearce, op. cit., pp. 120 ff.; Isaac A. Chapman, A Sketch of the History of Wyoming, (Sharp D. Lewis, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1830), pp. 88 ff.; Clarke, op. cit., pp. 244 ff.

101. Miner, op. cit., p. 230; Peck, Wyoming, pp. 43, 227, 228; Pearce, op. cit., pp. 229 ff.; Mathews, op. cit., pp. 79 ff.; Craft, op. cit., p. 74; Plumb, op. cit., pp. 100 ff.

102. Miner, op. cit., p. 230; Peck, Wyo-ming, p. 43; Peck, E. M., p. 24; Pearce, op. cit., pp. 120 ff.; Mathews, op. cit., pp. 22, 79, 80.

103. Lt. John Hardenburg in Journals,

Etc., op. cit., p. 121, note.

104. Consult several diarists in Journals, Etc., op. cit., pp. 1-312.

105. Peck, Wyoming, p. 357.

106. Ibid, pp. 227-229.

107. Mathews, op. cit., pp. 80-84.

108. Peck, Wyoming, p. 60.

109. Miner, op. cit., pp. 229 ff.; Peck, Wyoming, pp. 238-283.

110. Journals, Etc., op. cit., pp. 1 ff.; Miner, op. cit., pp. 255 ff.; Peck, Wyoming, pp. 61 ff.; Pearce, op. cit., pp. 126-155; Mathews, op. cit., pp. 87 ff.; Craft, op. cit., p. 87; Chapman, op. cit., pp. 88-144; Clarke, op. cit., pp. 245 ff. 111. Peck, E. M., p. 25; Historical Rec-

ord, op. cit., IV, p. 162.

112. Peck, Wyoming, pp. 291-303.

Peck, E. M., p. 25.

- 114. Historical Record, op. cit., V, p. 162.
  - Hollister, op. cit., p. 58. Ibid, pp. 333-343. 115.

116.

William Colbert Journal of. (Not in print. The original Journal is in the library of Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois. Carbon copies are available. Described as in ten volumes, V and VI being combined in one. Covers years 1790-1822. References are given by dates.) May 8, 1793; Peck, E. M., p. 54; Peck, Wyoming, p. 219; Pearce, op. cit., pp. 364-388, 486; Hollister, op. cit., pp. 92, 151-154, 333-343; Lewis H. Taylor, M.D., brochure, Pioneer Physicians of Pennsylvania, pp. 5-9, quoting Miner, Atlantic Med. Journal reprint.)

Epenshade, op. cit., p. 202. 118.

Visited by the author, Sept. 19, 119. 1940.

120. Craft, op. cit., pp. 86, 87.

Plumb, op. cit., p. 118. Peck, Wyoming, op. cit., pp. 173, 122. 174.

123. Hollister, op. cit., p. 272; Blackman, op. cit., p. 239.

124. Miner in Proceedings and Collections, V, pp. 110-152.

125. Blackman, op. cit., p. 227.

126. Plumb. op. cit., p. 117. 127. Hollister, op. cit., p. 148; Craft, op.

cit., p. 90. 128. Peck, Wyoming, p. 174.

129. Plumb, op. cit., pp. 91-95. 130. Pearce, op. cit., pp. 58-99; Craft,

op. cit., pp. 32, 33; Plumb, op. cit., pp. 62-131. Miner, op. cit., pp. 103 ff.; Peck,

Wyoming, p. 26; Mathews, op. cit., p. 65; Plumb, op. cit., pp. 68-77; Blackman, op. cit., p. 10.

132. Stone, op. cit., p. 249.

133. Craft, op. cit., p. 34; Plumb, op. cit., pp 88-90.

134. Pearce, op. cit., p. 75.

135. Miner, op. cit., p. 230; Peck, Wyoming, pp. 255 ff.; Mathews, op. cit., pp. 79, 80; Pearce, op. cit., pp. 229 ff.

136. Pearce, op. cit., pp. 58-99; Plumb,

op. cit., pp. 121 ff.

137. U. S. Census.

Consult several references above, especially 133-136, and Mathews, op. cit., map opp. p. 2.

139. Brewster, op. cit., p. 1 and map. 140.

Plumb, op. cit., map opp. p. 182. 141.

Ibid, p. 124.

142. Miner, op. cit., pp. 369 ff.; Pearce, op. cit., pp. 90 ff.; Chapman, op. cit., pp. 146-209; Blackman, op. cit., p. 14 and map; Brewster, op. cit., pp. 183-226; Plumb, op. cit., p. 135.

Pearce, op. cit., p. 240. 143.

Plumb, op. cit., p. 143. 144. Mathews, op. cit., pp. 1-70. 145.

Peck, E. M., p. 27; Hollister, op. 146. cit., pp. 141-147.

147. Mathews, op. cit., p. 747.

148. Ibid, p. 146.

149. Pearce, op. cit., p. 238.

- Nathan Bangs, D.D., A History of 150. the Methodist Episcopal Church in 4 vols. (Carlton & Porter, New York, 1860), I, p.
- 151. Craft, op. cit., pp. 85-90; Hollister, op. cit., pp. 269-274; Plumb, op. cit., p. 95.
  - 152. Peck, E. M., pp. 85, 86, 123.

### PRELIMINARY RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

1. Johnson in Proceedings, Etc., op. cit., XI, pp. 103 ff.

Blackman, op. cit., pp. 44, 45.

Pearce, op. cit., pp. 276, 277; Louise Wells Murray, A History of Old Tioga Point and Early Athens, Pa., (The Readers' Press, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1908), pp. 101-105.

4. Plumb, op. cit., pp. 244 ff.

5. Pearce, op. cit., pp. 279, 280; Johnson, Proceedings, XI, p. 188.

6. Pearce, op. cit., pp. 276 ff.; Johnson,

Proceedings, XI, p. 170.

7. Hollister, op. cit., pp. 310-313; Plumb, op. cit., p. 68.

8. Johnson, Proceedings, p. 159; Johnson, Historical Record, V. p. 12.

9. Johnson, Proceedings, XI,.pp. 103-200

10. Craft, op. cit., p. 157; Reverend David Craft, Historical Discourse on the Wyalusing Presbyterian Church, Etc., (Bradford Reporter, Towanda, Pa., 1870), pp. 1-128, especially pp. 5-36.

11. Craft, op. cit., pp. 142, 156; also Addresses, II, p. 30; Pearce, op. cit., pp.

12. Here and below see Craft, op. cit., pp. 62, 85, 156, 186, 336, 356 ff.; also, Victor C. Detty, History of the Presbyterian Church in Wysox, Pa., 1791-1938, (printed by Barber and Doane, Inc., Elmira, N. Y., 1939), pp. 15 ff.

Colbert, op. cit., Dec. 18, 1792, Mar. 13.

27, 1793, Sept. 18, 1797.

14. Blackman, op. cit., pp. 53, 79. 15. Blackman, op. cit., p. 79.

Ibid., pp. 174 ff.

- 17. Pearce, op. cit., pp. 300, 301; Johnson, Historical Records, V. p. 12.
  - 18. Hollister, op. cit., pp. 216, 310-313.

Craft, op. cit., pp. 127, 128. 19.

U. S. Census Report.

21. Here and in the next two paragraphs see Mathews, op. cit., pp. 10, 70, 380, 399, 658, 702-704, 723, 947.

22. Goodrich, op. cit., p. 395. Pearce, op. cit., p. 303.

24. For much of this section see: William C. Reichel, Editor, Memorials of the Moravian Church, (J. P. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, \_\_\_\_), I, pp. 173 ff.; Miner, op. cit., pp. 38 ff.; Peck, Wyoming, pp. 13 ff.; Peck, E. M., pp. 20 ff.; Pearce, op. cit., pp. 31-57; Mathews, op. cit., pp. 20 ff.; Johnson, Proceedings, op. cit., VIII. pp. 119-182; Plumb, op. cit., pp. 48, 49; Craft, op. cit., pp. 15 ff.; Stone, op. cit., pp. 95-97.

25. Rev. Augustus Gottlieb Spangenburg,

The Life of Nicholas Lewis Zinzendorf, Etc., written 1772-1775, translated by Samual Jackson, Esq., (Samuel Holdsworth, London, 1838), pp. 311 ff. 26. Reichel, op. cit., pp. 100-114.

27. Mathews, op. cit., pp. 5, 64.

28. Mathews, op. cit., p. 4. 29. Craft, op. cit., pp. 24 ff.

30. Spangenburg, op. cit., pp. 173 ff., 229, 249, 291, 306, 344, etc.

31. John Wesley, Journal of the Rev., A. M., Standard Edition, Nehemiah Curnock, Editor, (The Epworth Press, London, 1938), I, pp. 106 ff., 141-143, 150 ff.; Richard Watson, The Life of John Wesley, A. M., (H. & E. Phinney, Cooperstown, N. Y., 1847), pp. 1-133; Rev. W. H. Fritchett, Wesley and His Century, (Eaton and Mains, New York, 1912, 2nd edition), pp. 96, 116-118, 149-151, 315-318.

32. Wesley, Journal, op. cit., V. pp. 330,

331; VII, pp. 15-17.

33. Wesley, Journal, op. cit., I, pp. 436, 447, 454, 472 ff.; Abel Stevens, LL.D., History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the U. S. of America, (Carlton & Porter, New York, 1864), I, pp. 33-35.

Wesley, Journal, op. cit., II, 10 ff., 34.

312 ff.

35. Wesley, Journal, op. cit., III, pp.

206, 434, 435.

36. Abel Stevens, LL.D., History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in four vols., (Carlton & Porter, New York, 1864), I, pp. 71 ff., 109 ff.

37. Ibid, pp. 47 ff.; Abel Stevens, LL.D., A Compendius History of American Methodism, (Carlton & Porter, New York, 1867)

pp. 34 ff.; compare Bangs, I, pp. 38 ff. 38. Nathan Bangs, D.D., A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in four vols., (Carlton & Porter, New York, 1867). I, pp. 38-61; II, pp. 255-261; Stevens, M. E. Church, I, pp. 57 ff.

Wesley, Journal, V. pp. 330, 331,

Stevens, M. E. Church, I, pp. 92-109.
40. Stevens, M. E. Church, I, pp. 63, 64.
41. Asbury, Journal, I, p. 431: Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, hereafter referred to as the General Minutes, briefly, G. M., (vol. I, T. Mason & G. Lane, New York, 1840, vols. II-IV, G. Lane & C. B. Tippet, 1846, 1847, G. Lane & C. Scott, New York, 1848-51), I, pp. 5, 7; Stevens, M. E. Church, I, pp. 71-80.

42. W. H. Daniels, A. M., Rev., The Illustrated History of Methodism in Gt. Britain, America and Australia, (Methodist Book Concern, New York, 1887), pp. 376 ff.

43. G. M., I, pp. 24, 25, 27.

Henry Boehm, Rev., Reminiscences, 44. Historical and Biographical, of Sixty-four Years in the Ministry, Edited by Joseph B. Wakely, (Carlton & Porter, New York, 1865), pp. 339, 340; G. M., I, pp. 5 ff.; Stevens, M. E. Church, I, p. 86.

45. Bangs, op. cit., pp. 60-70; Stevens, M. E. Church, I, pp. 73 ff. 46. Stevens, M. E. Church, I, 100-128. 47. Asbury, Journal, I, pp. 11 ff.; Ste-

vens, M. E. Church, I, p. 98.

48. Asbury, Journal, pp. 45, 46; Bangs, op. cit., I, p. 74; Stevens, M. E. Church, I, p. 131.

49. Asbury, Journal, pp. 17, 20; Bangs,

op. cit., I, pp. 61 ff.

50. Stevens, M. E. Church, I. pp. 141 ff. G. M., I, p. 5; Asbury, Journal, I, p. 80; Bangs, op. cit., I, pp. 78-81; Stevens, M. E. Church, I. pp. 160 ff.

52. Stevens, M. E. Church, I, pp. 120,

121.

53. Asbury, Journal, I, pp. 56, 57; Ste-

vens, M. E. Church, I, pp. 132, 133. 54. Bangs, op. cit., I, pp. 115-128; Ste-

vens, M. E. Church, I, pp. 269 ff. Stevens, M. E. Church, I, pp. 163 ff. 55.

Bangs, op. cit., I, pp. 115-128. Wesley, Journal, VI, pp. 67, 68, 82, 83; Stevens, M. E. Church, I, pp. 282, 283.

Stevens, M. E. Church, I, pp. 283, 284.

59. Asbury, Journal, I, pp. 176, 177, 363, 364.

60. Stevens, M. E. Church, I, pp. 307 ff.

61. Ibid, p. 322.

- 62. Asbury, Journal, I, pp. 257, 268, 272, etc., Stevens, M. E. Church, I, pp. 83, 110, 142, 209, 211, 279, 306, 328, 335, 341, etc.
- 63. G. M., I, pp. 5 ff.; Stevens, M. E. Church, I, pp. 275 ff.

64. Asbury, Journal, I, p. 103.

Stevens, M. E. Church, I, pp. 225, 65. 226.

Ibid, pp. 85, 224. 66.

Ibid, pp. 191, 195, 235, 251, etc.

G. M., I, pp. 9-11; Asbury, Journal, p. 309; Bangs, op. cit., I, pp. 128 ff.; Stevens, M. E. Church, I, p. 312, II, pp. 56 ff.

69. G. M., I, pp. 11-13; Asbury, Journal, I, pp. 363-367; Bangs, op. cit., I, pp. 132-140; Stevens, M. E. Church, II, pp. 73-89.

70. G. M., I, pp. 13-21; Asbury, Journal, I, pp. 423, 444, 446, 459; Bangs, op. cit., I, pp. 140-150; Stevens, M. E. Church, II, pp. 90 ff. 71. G. M., I, pp. 7-18; Bangs, op. cit.,

II, pp. 149, 150; Stevens, M. E. Church, II, pp. 92, 112, 127, (quoting Asbury's letter to

Shadford).

72. Bangs, op. cit., I, pp. 128-132; Stevens, M. E. Church, II, pp. 26, 46, 56 ff.,

74 ff., 162 ff.

73. Bangs, op. cit., II, pp. 151 ff.; Ste-

vens, M. E. Church, II, pp. 165 ff.

74. G. M., I, pp. 21, 22; Stevens, M. E. Church, II, pp. 181-183; Stevens, Am. Methodism, pp. 185, 186.

75. Asbury, Journal, I, pp. 484-487;

Bangs, op. cit., II, pp. 155-216.

76. G. M., I, pp. 20, 24; Stevens, M. E.

Church, I, pp. 422, 423.

77. Asbury, Journal, III, p. 280; Bangs, cit., I, pp. 195 ff.; Matthew Simpson, D.D., LL.D., Bishop, etc., Editor, Encyclopedia of Methodism, 4th revised edition, (Louis H. Everts, Philadelphia, 1881), pp. 395, 396.

78. Bangs, op. cit., I, pp. 279-286; Stevens, M. E. Church, II, pp. 501-503; Ezra Squier Tipple, D.D., Editor, "The Heart of Asbury's Journal," (Eaton & Mains,

New York, 1904), p. 134.
79. G. M., I, pp. 5 ff.; Stevens, M. E.

Church, II, pp. 181-237.

80. E. M., pp. 56, 64, 77, 81, etc.; Stevens, M. E. Church, II, p. 223; Stevens, Am. Meth., p. 420.

81. Bangs, op. cit., II, pp. 151-218; Stevens, M. E. Church, II, pp. 181-237, 500,

501.

82. G. M., I, pp. 55 ff.; E. M., p. 34; Bangs, op. cit., II, pp. 10-20, 43-57; Stevens, M. E. Church, II, pp. 220 ff.

G. M., I, pp. 95 ff.

84. E. M., pp. 164, 165; Bangs, op. cit., I, pp. 288-295.

85. Bangs, op. cit., I, pp. 342, 366.

G. M., I, 5-95, (appointments, memoirs), Bangs, op. cit., I, pp. 307 ff., II, pp. 43 ff.

87. Asbury, Journal, III, p. 196; Boehm, op. cit., p. 103; Stevens, M. E. Church, II, pp. 113, 114.

88. Stevens, M. E. Church, II, pp. 509,

89. Asbury, Journal, III, p. 143.

90. Ibid, I, pp. 142, 143, III, pp. 89, 176, 232, 403, etc.; G. M., I, 5-274, (memoir, pp. 272-274.)

#### III. METHODIST BEGINNINGS IN WYOMING

1. G. M., I, pp. 65 ff., 242, 243 (memoir); Beck, E. M., pp. 28 ff., 261-272; Bangs, op. cit., II, pp. 288-295; Stevens, M. E. Church, II, pp. 33 ff.; Taylor, op. cit., p. 113.

Peck, E. M., p. 103.
 Ibid, p. 32.
 Ibid, p. 33.

Evidently an error. Her father, James Sutton, was associated with her mother's father, Dr. W. H. Smith, in building the forge

6. Peck, E. M., pp. 31, 32; Pearce, op.

cit., p. 290.

7. Peck, E. M., pp. 37, 103, 104, 110-118; Pearce, op. cit., pp. 290, 291.

8. Peck, E. M., p. 136.

9. Ibid, p. 301.

10. Ibid, 103, 138, 139; Rev. A. F. Chaffee, History of the Wyoming Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, (Eaton & Mains, New York, 1904), p. 852.

11. G. M., I, pp. 32 ff., III, pp. 594, 595

(memoir); Peck, E. M., p. 34.

12. G. M., I, pp. 55 ff.; Peck, E. M., p. 34.

13. G. M., I, pp. 39, 42, etc.; Peck,

E. M., p. 34. 14. G. M., I, pp. 33, 42, etc., III, p. 154 (memoir); Bangs, op. cit., I, pp. 320-337.

15. Peck, E. M., pp. 34-37.

- 16. G. M., I, pp. 7-574 (memoir); Freeborn Garrettson's Journal in manuscript form, fragmentary, 1791-93 and after 1809, (Rose Library, Drew University, Madison, N. J.); Nathan Bangs, D.D., The Life of the Rev. Freeborn Garrettson, 5th edition, (Carlton & Lanahan, New York, 1832); Ezra S. Tipple, Freeborn Garrettson, (Eaton & Cains, 1910); Wesley, Journal in 1788-91; Peck, E. M., pp. 173-178; George Peck, The Life and Times of the Rev. George Peck, (Nelson & Phillips, New York, 1874), pp. 30 ff.; Bangs, op. cit., III, pp. 363 ff.; Stevens, M. E. Church, II, pp. 324-335; Stevens, Am. Meth., pp. 96, 212-216, 232-235, etc.
- 17. G. M., I, pp. 9-219; Peck, E. M., pp. 34, 35.

18. Peck, E. M., pp. 37, 38.

19. G. M., I, pp. 30-66.

Ibid, p. 47. 20.

Stevens, M. E. Church, III, p. 125.

22. Colbert, Journal, under respective

dates here and later; Peck, E. M., pp. 39 ff. 23. G. M., I, p. 46; Peck, E. M., pp. 37, 39. 24.

Peck, E. M., pp. 36 ff.

Ibid, pp. 30 ff. 25. Ibid, pp. 40 ff.

On east side of the Susquehanna below Gardner's Ferry. (Peck, E. M., p. 42.)

28. For a commentary on conditions along the Susquehanna in 1795 see Craft, Historical Discourses, Etc., op. cit., pp. 88-96, with quotation from Duke de la Rouchfoucault Liancourt on the poverty of the people, the high cost of commodities and the difficulties of travel. The duke was a promoter of Azylum, the French refugee establishment on the Susquehanna.

29. Craft, Bradford Co., p. 444.

30. Ibid, pp. 58-98, 444. 31.

Ibid, 62, 63, 148, 380. Peck, E. M., p. 45; see diarists in Journals of the Military Expedition, etc.

33. Craft, Bradford Co., pp. 50, 62, 90.

34. Peck, E. M., p. 50.

35. Peck, E. M., pp. 47, 48; Craft, Brad. Co., pp. 62, 148, 269; John A. Biles, Notes Compiled by, arranged by Sarah E. Biles and Eliza Arnout, under title, Historical Sketches, a brochure of 70 pp., (W. F. Humphrey Press, Geneva, N. Y., 1931), pp. 23, 24. (Craft, p. 269, supra is in conflict with the others.)

36. G. M., I, pp. 57, 63; Peck, E. M., p.

Peck, E. M., pp. 259, 260; Craft, Brad. Co., pp. 423, 424.

38. Peck, E. M., p. 49; Stevens, Am. Meth., pp. 492, 493; Simpson, op. cit., p. 92. 39. Craft, Brad. Co., p. 154.

40. G. M., I, pp. 46-III, 252 (memoir); Sketches of the Life and Travels of Rev. Thomas Ware, Etc., Written by Himself, Revised by the Editors, (T. Mason & G. Lane, Publishers, for the M. E. Church, J. Collord, printer. New York, 1839), pp. 186 ff.; Peck, E. M., p. 53; Stevens, Am. Meth., pp. 299, 300.

41. G. M., I, pp. 99-101.

Stevens, M. E. Church, III, p. 150. 42.

Peck, E. M., p. 58. 43.

Ibid, p. 53. 44.

G. M., I, pp. 47, 51, 57. 45.

## SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS

Plumb, op. cit., pp. 244-258.

Peck, E. M., p. 55.

3 & 4. Peck, E. M., p. 54. Taylor, op. cit., pp. 5-9. Peck, Wyoming, p. 205.

Taylor, op. cit., quoting Miner, p. 7. Peck, Wyoming, pp. 200 ff.; Peck, E. M., pp. 110 ff.

9. Miner, in Proceedings and Collec-

tions, op. cit., Early Grist Mills.

10. Peck, Wyoming, p. 219; Peck, E. M., pp. 32-35, 110-114; Lewis H. Taylor, M.D., History of Methodism and of the First M. E. Church and S. S. in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., (published by the church, 1915), p. 14. 11. Asbury, *Journal*, II, pp. 150, 212,

214; Peck, E. M., pp. 62, 63.

12. G. M., I, p. 46.

13. E. M., pp. 35, 36. Asbury, Journal, II, p. 197 ff.

15. Peck, E. M., p. 57.

16. G. M., pp. 39 ff.; Asbury, Journal, p. 190.

17. Asbury, Journal, II, pp. 199, 200.

18.

- Peck, E. M., p. 58, note. Taylor, First M. E. Church, p. 14. 19. Hollister, op. cit., p. 330. Unquestionably Stanton's was the place.
  - 21. Mathews, op. cit., pp. 747, 748.

Peck, E. M., p. 64.

Colbert, Journal for Dec. 2, 1792.

Peck, E. M., pp. 65, 113; Rev. H. E. Hayden, Hon. Alfred Hand, M. A., & J. W. Jordan, LL.D., editors, Geological and Family History of the Wyoming and Lackawanna Valleys, Pa., (Lewis Publishing Co., 1906, 3 vols.), I, p. 340.
25. Peck, E. M., pp. 64-66.

26. G. M., I, pp. 30-IV, pp. 139, 140 (memoir); Peck, E. M., pp. 66 ff.; Stevens, Am. Meth., p. 396.

27. G. M., I, pp. 47-52, (note conflicting dates for same conference); Asbury, Jour-

nal, II, p. 210.

28. Peck, E. M., p. 67; Peck, Wyoming,

p. 193.

29. G. M., I, pp. 318 ff.; Peck, Life and Times, pp. 102, 103; Chaffee, op. cit., p. 222. (Chaffee errs in giving June 10.)

30. G. M., I, pp. 48-II, p. 621; Peck,

E. M., p. 68.

31 & 32. Peck, E. M., pp. 70, 71.

33. G. M., I, pp. 48, 109 (memoir);

Peck, E. M., 73, 74.

34. G. M., I, pp. 83 ff.-IV, p. 50 (memoir); Peck, Wyoming, pp. 330 ff.; Peck, E. M., pp. 108, 109, 118, 138, 294-302. 35. Peck, E. M., pp. 62, 63.

36. Boehm, op. cit., pp. 79, 103. 37. Asbury, Journal, II, pp. 200 ff.

38. New Inter. Encyc., op. cit., II, p. 241; John Bakeless, The Master of the Wilderness, Daniel Boone, (Wm. Morrow

& Co., New York, 1939), pp. I-480.

39. G. M., I, pp. 30-90; Peck, E. M., pp. 71, 72, 85-103; Boehm, op. cit., p. 26; Stevens, Am. Meth., pp. 302, 303; Biographical Sketches of Eminent Itinerant Ministers, Etc., Thomas O. Summers, D.D., Ed., (Stevens and Owen, Agts., for the M. E. Church, South, Nashville, 1858), pp. 183-202 on Valentine Cook by Edward Stevenson, D.D.

40. Peck, E. M., p. 117.

41. Peck, E. M., pp. 82, 83, 103. 42. Ibid, pp. 88, 89, reprinted from The Northern Christian Advocate, Syracuse, Aug. 25, 1858.

43. Ibid, pp. 116-118.

44. Ibid, p. 72.

- 45. G. M., I, pp. 48-III, pp. 152, 153 (memoir); Peck, E. M., pp. 74, 75; Stevens, Am. Meth., pp. 361-365.
- 46. G. M., I, pp. 58-155; Peck, E. M., pp. 81, 82.
- 47. G. M., I, pp. 48-II, p. 216 (memoir); Peck, E. M., pp. 82, 83, 108, 119, 132; Stevens, Am. Meth., pp. 361-365.

48. G. M., I, pp. 361-365.

48. G. M., I, pp. 58 ff.

49. G. M., I, pp. 57-III, p. 355 (memoir); Peck, E. M., p. 137; Stevens, Am. Meth., supra.

50. Peck, E. M., p. 103.

51. Ibid, pp. 32, 104. 52. Ibid, pp. 32, 104-109. 53. Ibid, pp. 85, 108.

Ibid, pp. 108, 119. 54.

- Peck, Wyoming, pp. 133 ff., 291-303. 55. 56. Ibid, pp. 42, 147 ff.; Peck, E. M., pp. 83, 109, 110.
- 57. Peck, E. M., pp. 73, 114, 115, 142; Pearce, op. cit., p. 279.
  - 58. Peck, E. M., pp. 114-119

## V. AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

- 1. G. M., I, pp. 71 ff.; Ware, op. cit., pp. 218-226; Peck, E. M., pp. 119, 120.
  - 2. G. M., I, pp. 65, 71, 79 (memoir).
- 3. Ibid, I, pp. 65, 71 ff.; Peck, E. M., pp. 261 ff.
  - 4. G. M., I, pp. 68 ff.
- 5. Ibid, pp. 71 ff.; Peck, E. M., pp. 121 ff.
  - 6 & 7. Peck, E. M., p. 122.
  - 8. Ibid, p. 123.
- Information given the writer personally by Elizabeth Stroud Colbert, granddaughter of William Colbert, 2/7, 1944.
  - 10. Peck, E. M., p. 301.
  - Ibid, pp. 83, 84, 135. 11.
  - 12. Ibid, p. 326.
  - G. M., I, pp. 95 ff.
  - 14. Asbury, Journal, II, p. 352.
- G. M., I, pp. 65 ff.; Peck, E. M., p. 15. 120.
  - 16. Stevens, Am. Meth., pp. 364, 365.
- G. M., I, pp. 82 ff. 17.
- 18. Ibid., I, p. 77; Asbury, Journal, II, p. 380.
  - 19. G. M., I, pp. 72-109 (memoir).
  - 20. Peck, E. M., pp. 136, 137.
  - 21. G. M., I, pp. 88 ff.
  - Ibid, I, pp. 72 ff. 23 & 24. Ibid, I, p. 88.
  - 25. Ibid, I, pp. 71-508 (memoir).
- 26. Ibid, I, pp. 83-IV, p. 50 (memoir); Peck, Wyoming, pp. 330-343; Peck, E. M., pp. 138, 294-302.
  - 27. Peck, Wyoming, p. 342.

- 28. Peck, E. M., p. 139.
- 29. G. M., I, pp. 83.
- 30. U. S. Census Report.
- G. M., I, pp. 13 ff., 179-181 (mem-31. oir).
- G. M., I, pp. 89 ff.-IV, 549, 550 (memoir); Boehm, op. cit., pp. 80, 81; Stevens, Am. Meth., pp. 354, 355, 444. 33. G. M., I, pp. 89 ff.-IV (memoir). 34. Ibid, I, pp. 83 ff.
- Ibid, I, pp. 45 ff.; Peck, E. M., pp. 35. 140, 141.
- 36. Peck, E. M., 140; Pearce, op. cit., pp. 284-286; Chaffee, op. cit., pp. 940-943; The Historical Record, op. cit., IV, p. 180. (Chaffee's sketch of the Wilkes-Barre square conflicts with Johnston in The Historical Record in locating the church on the northwesterly side.)
- 37. Peck, E. M., p. 434; Peck, Life and
- Times, p. 150.
  - 38. G. M., I, pp. 34-188.
  - 39. Ibid, I, pp. 95 ff.
  - 40. Peck, E. M., pp. 141, 142. 41. Ibid, pp. 28, 141.

  - 42. Ibid, p. 142.
- 43. Ibid, p. 440; Chaffee, op. cit., pp. 459 ff.
- G. M., I, pp. 242, 243; Peck, E. M., 44. pp. 28-32, 116, 261-272.
- 45. Bangs, op. cit., II, pp. 303 ff.; Boehm, op. cit., p. 360.
  - 46. G. M., I, pp. 89 ff.

#### VI. **EXPANSION**

- G. M., I, pp. 105 ff.
- Ibid, I, pp. 88-II, 348 (memoir). Ibid, I, pp. 101 ff.
- Ibid, I, p. 101; Asbury, Journal, 63, 64.
- 5. Peck, E. M., pp. 142-144; original Stewards' Book for Wyoming circuit, 1803-1810.
  - 6. Peck, E. M., pp. 114, 115.
  - Peck, E. M., p. 144.
  - Mathews, op. cit., pp. 746, 747.
  - Peck, E. M., p. 142.
  - Ibid, pp. 111-113. Ibid, p. 55.
  - G. M., I, pp. 112, 120 ff.; Asbury, 12.
- Journal, III, p. 112. 13. G. M., I, pp. 28-II, 621; Peck, E. M.,
- pp. 68, 143, 145; Bangs, op. cit., III, pp. 371-374.
  - 14. G. M., I, pp. 112 ff.; Peck, M. E.,

- p. 143; Stevens, Am. Meth., p. 361.15. Wyoming Circuit Record Book, pp.
- 3 ff.
  - 16. G. M., I, pp. 114 ff.
  - 17. Ibid, I, pp. 112, 113.
  - Ibid, I, pp. 83 ff. Ibid, I, pp. 101 ff. 18.
  - 19.
  - 20.
  - Ibid, I, pp. 107 ff. Peck, E. M., p. 405.
  - 22. Ibid, pp. 113, 216.
  - 23. Ibid, pp. 224, 225.
  - 24. Colbert, Journal, May 2, 1803.
- 25. Boehm, op. cit., p. 82; Peck, E. M., p. 275.
- Peck, E. M., pp. 272-275; Boehm, 26. op. cit., pp. 75-85; Stevens, Am. Meth., pp. 300-302, 361-365.
  - 27. Bangs, op. cit., pp. 150 ff.
  - G. M., I, pp. 204 ff.
  - 29. *Ibid*, I, pp. 35-IV, 465 (memoir);

Peck, E. M., p. 145; Stevens, Am. Meth., pp. 361-365.

30. G. M., I, pp. 104-IV, 267.

31. Ibid, I, pp. 132 ff.

32. Ibid, I, p. 132, etc.; Peck, E. M., pp. 145, 146.

33. Ibid, I, pp. 101 ff.

34. Ibid, I, pp. 101-II, 408 (memoir); Boehm, op. cit., p. 118; Peck, E. M., pp.

35. G. M., I, pp. 134-IV; Peck, E. M.,

pp. 146-150.

36. Mathews, op. cit., pp. 638-658; Chaffee, op. cit., p. 662.

37. Mathews, op. cit., p. 658.

38. Ibid, p. 771. 39. Ibid, pp. 541 ff. 40. Ibid, pp. 399 ff.

41. Ibid, pp. 763 ff.; Peck, E. M., p. 144 n.

43. G. M., I, p. 147.

44. Old Record Book, Pittston Meth. church; Chaffee, op. cit., pp. 887, 888, quoting E. Blackman's letter in Northern Christian Advocate, Feb. 12, 1878. 45. G. M., I, p. 150.

46 & 48. Ibid, pp. 143 ff. 47. Ibid, pp. 107 ff.

49. Asbury, Journal, III, pp. 260, 261;

Peck, E. M., pp. 155, 156. Thomas Bowman, mentioned by Asbury, was the eldest son of Jesse Bowman, Sr., and grandfather of Bishop Thomas Bowman, of the M. E. Church. (Vid. The Jesse Bowman, Sr., Lineage, by Rev. Alfred S. Bowman, author and publisher, Scotia, N. Y., 1931, p. 90.)

50. E. M., p. 157.

51. Asbury, Journal, II, p. 157; Enclyc. Meth., pp. 58-61.

52. G. M., I, p. 150.

53. Craft, op. cit., pp. 54, 70, 88, 360, etc.

54. Ibid, p. 450.

55. Peck, E. M., p. 156.

Ibid, pp. 158 ff.; Mathews, op. cit., pp. 750-765.

57. Mathews, op. cit., p. 498. 58. Peck, E. M., p. 161.

Ibid, pp. 162-165. 59.

Mathews, op. cit., p. 805. 60. Old Circuit Record, pp. 19-22. 62. G. M., I, p. 162; Asbury, Journal,

III, p. 277. 63. G. M., I, p. 152; Asbury, Journal, III, p. 280; Bangs, op. cit., II, pp. 195 ff.;

Stevens, Am. Meth., pp. 507, 508.

# VII. LAST YEARS IN THE PHILADELPHIA CONFERENCE, FIRST IN THE GENESEE

1. G. M., I, pp. 152 ff.

2. Ibid, I, pp. 143-III, 247 (memoir); Peck, E. M. 163.

3. Ibid, I, pp. 153 ff.

4. Ibid, I, pp. 95-III, 250 (memoir).

5. Ibid, I, pp. 153-IV; Wyoming Conference Minutes, 1854, p. 5; Chaffee, op. cit., pp. 202, 203.

6. G. M., I, pp. 163 ff.; Peck, E. M., p.

165; Mathews, op. cit., p. 765.

7. G. M., I, p. 170.

8 Old Circuit Record, pp. 23-26.

Mathews, op. cit., p. 768. Peck, E. M., pp. 164, 165. 10.

Mathews, op. cit., pp. 750, 751.

Ibid, p. 770.

Peck, E. M., p. 26; Pearce, op. cit., pp. 221, 372, etc.; Mathews, op. cit., pp. 226 ff.; Geol. and Family History, op. cit., pp. 342, 343.

14. G. M., I, pp. 174, 188.

15. Peck, E. M., p. 166, n.

16. G. M., I, pp. 43-II, 280 (memoir). Ibid, I, pp. 165-279 (memoir).

18. *Ibid*, I, pp. 143 ff. 19. *Ibid*, I, pp. 122-IV; Peck, E. M., pp. 166, 167, 492-495; Encyc. Meth., op. cit., p. 524.

20. G. M., I, pp. 143-379.

21. G. M., I, p. 164; Asbury, Journal, III, pp. 302-315.

22. Boehm, op. cit., pp. 251-253, 257,

303, 327.

23. Peck, E. M., pp. 167, 168; old Circuit Record, p. 31.

24. Peck, E. M., p. 166; Pearce, op. cit.,

p. 293.

25. Bangs, op. cit., II, pp. 101-119, 265-280; Stevens, M. E. Church, II, pp. 261, 397; Boehm, op. cit., pp. 128 ff.

26. Peck, E. M., p. 167. 27. G. M., I, p. 183.

28. U. S. Census Report.

29. G. M., I, pp. 175, 188; Asbury, Journal, III, p. 342; Peck, E. M., 168, 303, 304, 496-498; Genesee Conference Journal, hereafter, Gen. Conf. Journal (years 1810-28 transcribed by Isaac Moister, 1860), 1810, p. 5.

30. Peck, E. M., pp. 62, 63, quoting letter from Bishop Asbury to Reverend Thomas Morrell; Boehm, op. cit., pp. 297 ff.

31. G. M., I, pp. 174, 186, 201, 214.

Ibid, I, p. 188.

33 & 34. Ibid, I, pp. 165 ff.; Peck, E. M., p. 169.

35. G. M., I, pp. 176 ff.; Peck, E. M., p. 169; Genesee Conf. Journal, 1810, p. 5.

36. G. M., I, pp. 143-IV, 628; Oneida Conference Minutes, 1829 ff.; Peck, E. M., pp. 169-171.

37. G. M., I, pp. 176-250, 260-290; Gen-

esee Conf. Journal, p. 5.

38. G. M., I, pp. 165-IV; Peck, E. M.,

pp. 49, 255-260, 340, etc. 39. G. M., I, pp. 188 ff.; Asbury, Journal, III, pp. 369-371; Genesee Conf. Journal, pp. 13 ff.

40. Historical Record, op. cit., IV, pp.

109, 110.

41. Boehm, op. cit., pp. 360, 361.

42. Genesee Conference Journal, pp. 17, 18.

- 43. G. M., I, p. 211; Peck, E. M., pp. 304, 316, 326.
  - 44. G. M., I, pp. 176-206. Ibid, I, pp. 165-II, 3. Ibid, I, pp. 165-219. 45.

Chaffee, op. cit., pp. 461, 462.

48. G. M., I, pp. 202; Genesee Conf. Journal, pp. 20, 23; Asbury, Journal, III, pp. 390, 391.

49. G. M., I, pp. 216, 234, 250.

50. Rev. F. W. Conable, History of the Genesee Conference of the M. E. Church, 1810-1872, (Nelson & Phillips, New York, 1876), pp. 35-43.

51. Peck, E. M., pp. 304, 305.

52. G. M., I, pp. 203-IV, 628; Wyo. Conf. Minutes, 1852-60 (memoir, 1860, p. 47); Peck, E. M., pp. 304-310, 428-431, 489492; Chaffee, op. cit., pp. 156, 157.

53. Peck, E. M., pp. 305-309.

54. Chaffee, op. cit., p. 880. 55. Ibid, p. 821.

G. M., I, pp. 189 ff., II, pp. 33 ff.,

III, p. 519; Peck, E. M., pp. 316, 318. 57. G. M., pp. 189 ff., 352 ff., II, 143, 157, 192, 210, 211, 272 ff.-IV, 628; Wyo. Conf. Minutes, 1852, 1853, pp. 21, 22 (mem-

oir); Peck, E. M., 310, 311, 313, 315, 326, 480-485.

58. G. M., I, p. 229; Peck, E. M., pp. 316, 326.

Peck, E. M., pp. 328, 329.

- G. M., I, pp. 216-234; Asbury, Journal, III, p. 417; Gen. Conf. Journal, p. 24.
  - 61. Conable, op. cit., p. 70. 62. Peck, E. M., pp. 310,

Chaffee, op. cit., p. 680. G. M., I, pp. 203-341; Peck, E. M., 64.

p. 316. 65. G. M., I, pp. 217-II, 37 (memoir);

Peck, E. M., p. 316.

66. Peck, E. M., pp. 316-318; Chaffee, op. cit., pp. 608, 663-671, 687, 688; Letter, Aug. 5, 1926, to writer from Mrs. J. N. Lee, quoting an early authority.

G. M., I, p. 234; Peck, E. M., p.

321; Chaffee, op. cit., p. 50.

68. G. M., I, pp. 189-271. 69. Ibid, I, pp. 217-305.

70. Ibid, I, p. 234; Peck, E. M., p. 326.

71. G. M., I, pp. 176-271.

G. M., I, pp. 217-II, 33-157-IV, 269-72. 644.

73. Quoted by Peck, E. M., pp. 416 ff.

#### THE MIDDLE PERIOD IN THE GENESEE CONFERENCE VIII.

1. G. M., I, p. 250.

2. Ibid, I, pp. 176 ff., II, 83 ff.-IV, 628; Oneida Conf. Minutes, 1829 ff.; Peck, E. M., p. 311; Simpson, op. cit., p. 689.

3. G. M., I, pp. 203 ff., p. 570, II, 351;

Peck, E. M., p. 318.

4. G. M., I, pp. 217 ff., 353 ff., 378; Peck, E. M., p. 318.

5. G. M., I, pp. 235-448; Peck, E. M.,

321, 322.

6. G. M., I, pp. 250-II, 563, III, 511; Peck, E. M., pp. 334 ff.; Craft, Brad. Co.,

pp. 328 ff.; Chaffee, op. cit., pp. 168, 839 ff. 7. G. M., III, pp. 278-IV; Wyo. Conf. Minutes, 1852-89 (memoir), p. 80); Peck, E. M., pp. 234-237; Chaffee, op. cit., pp. 252, 253.

8. G. M., I, pp. 203-II, 31-IV, 656.

9. Ibid, I, pp. 235 ff.-III, 541-634 (memoir).

10. G. M., I, pp. 250, 265; Gen. Conf. Journal, p. 42.

11. G. M., I, pp. 165 ff., II, 33-475; Peck, E. M., pp. 311, 329.

12. G. M., I, p. 281.

13. Ibid, I, pp. 203-501; Peck, E. M., pp. 318, 337.

14. G. M., I, pp. 213-IV, 161-642; Peck, E. M., p. 391.

15. G. M., I, p. 265.

16. Ibid, I, pp. 189-IV, 267-642; Peck,

E. M., p. 336.

- 17. G. M., I, pp. 5-274 (memoir); Asbury, Journal, I-III; Boehm, op. cit., pp. 361-459; Bangs, op. cit., I-III; Stevens, M. E. Church, I-IV; Tipple, op. cit., pp. 1-333; Etc.
- 18. G. M., I, p. 265; Peck, E. M., p. 500.
  - 19. G. M., I, p. 287.

20. Ibid, I, pp. 235-IV, 631; Oneida Conf. Minutes, 1829 ff.; Peck, E. M., p. 311; Simpson, op. cit., p. 127.

21. Peck, E. M., p. 318.

22. Mathews, op. cit., pp. 767, 768. 23. G. M., I, pp. 269 ff., II, pp. 32 ff., III, pp. 178-344, 345 (memoir); Peck, E. M., pp. 318, 333 and note. 24. Peck, E. M., p. 322.

25. Chaffee, op. cit., pp. 518, 519. 26 & 28. Peck, E. M., p. 336.

27. G. M., I, pp. 30-341.

29. Ibid, pp. 311-313; Peck, Life and Times, pp. 76 ff.

Peck, Life and Times, pp. 100 ff.

G. M., İ, p. 312. 31.

Gen. Conf. Journal, pp. 61-63.

33. G. M., I, pp. 269 ff., II, pp. 33 ff., 48 ff., 220 ff., IV, 575; Peck, Life and Times, Peck, E. M., esp. pp. 313 ff.; Wyo. Conf. Minutes, 1852-77 (memoir, pp. 28-30); Chaffee, op. cit., 220-223. 34. G. M., I, pp. 302, 318; Peck, Life,

Etc., pp. 91 ff.; Peck, E. M., pp. 313, 314.

- 35. Chaffee, op. cit., pp. 858, 859. 36. Wyo. Conf. Minutes for 1857.
- 37. Peck, Life, Etc., pp. 91 ff.; but compare with his E. M., pp. 476, 477, where the time is given as spring, 1819.

38. G. M., I, p. 330.

39. Peck, E. M., 319, 320.

40. G. M., I, pp. 303, 318, 337; Peck, E. M., pp. 152, 322-325; Peck, Life, Etc., pp. 105 ff.

41. Peck, E. M., pp. 322, 323.

42. G. M., I, pp. 189-470; Peck, E. M., 336, 337.

43. G. M., I, pp. 303-II, 32-IV, 628;

Peck, E. M., pp. 326-328.

44. G. M., I, pp. 318, 331. 45. Ibid, I, pp. 107-188, II, 70-411 (memoir)

46. *Ibid*, I, p. 337.

47. Peck, E. M., pp. 314, 315; Peck, Life, Etc., pp. 108 ff. (Former gives the Williams case as in 1820, latter in 1819).

48. G. M., I, p. 346.

- 49. G. M., I, pp. 320 ff.-II, pp. 33, 70; Peck, E. M., pp. 336, 337.
- 50. G. M., I, pp. 337 ff.; Peck, Life, Etc., p. 116; Gen. Conf. Journal, p. 94.

51. Peck, E. M., pp. 315, 428, 429.

52. Chaffee, op. cit., p. 854.

G. M., I, p. 366. 54. Peck, Life, Etc., pp. 117 ff.; Peck, E. M., pp. 320, 321. (Former says there were a dozen preaching places, latter, ten.)

55. Peck, E. M., pp. 325, 326.

Probably the correct spelling. Elsewhere Peck gives "Dimack" and speaks of "Sol Dimack," and "Solomon Dimack," and also "Elder Davis Dimock, probably referring to the same person. Cf. pp. 322-326.

57. Peck, E. M., p. 337.

58. G. M., I, pp. 319-II, 33-IV, 492, 499 (memoir); Peck, E. M., pp. 457, 458.

59. G. M., I, pp. 338-373.

# THE FINAL PERIOD IN THE GENESEE CONFERENCE

1. G. M., I, p. 373.

2. Ibid, I, pp. 354-II, 33, 70; Gen. Conf. Journal, p. 112.

3. Peck, E. M., pp. 429-431.

4. G. M., I, pp. 338-470; Peck, E. M., p. 436.

5. G. M., I, pp. 251-II, 32-155 ff.-IV,

365 (memoir).

6. G. M., I, pp. 354-II, 33-IV, p. 628; Gen. Conf. Journal, p. 112; Wyo. Conf. Minutes, 1852-59, pp. 19, 20 (memoir); Chaffee, op. cit., pp. 201, 202. 7. G. M., I, pp. 338-II, 284.

8. Ibid, I, p. 392.

9. Ibid, I, pp. 303 ff.-II, 33-IV, 628; Oneida Conf. Minutes, 1829 ff.

10. G. M., I, p. 402.

11. Peck, E. M., pp. 436, 437. 12. G. M., I, pp. 357-568.

13. Ibid, I, pp. 354-392, II, pp. 70, 72.

14. *Ibid*, I, pp. 392-II, 33-561.

15. Ibid, I, pp. 288-353-564-IV, 254 ff.; Oneida Conf. Minutes, 1829 ff.

16. Peck, E. M., p. 437.

17. G. M., I, pp. 394-471.

 Ibid, I, pp. 338-536.
 Ibid, IV, p. 361 ff.; Peck, E. M., pp. 334, 335, 442; Chaffee, op. cit., pp. 167, 168. 20. G. M., I, pp. 446, 447; Gen. Conf.

Journal, pp. 156 ff.; Peck, Life, Etc., pp. 135 ff.; Peck, E. M., p. 432.

21. G. M., I, pp. 375-II, 33-397.

- 22. Ibid, I, pp. 394-II, 32-653-III, 160, IV, 556.
- 23. Ibid, I, pp. 394-II, 33-70; Gen. Conf. Journal, p. 149.

24. G. M., I, pp. 447, 472; Gen. Conf. Journal, II, pp. 1 ff.

25. Peck, Life, Etc., pp. 139-148; Peck, E. M., pp. 432-434; Chaffee, op. cit., pp. 55 ff.

26. Bangs, op. cit., III, p. 304.

Peck, E. M., pp. 294-302. 27.

Peck, Life, Etc., pp. 147, 148. 28.

G. M., I, p. 472. 29.

30. Ibid, I, pp. 375-IV, 269 ff. Peck, E. M., pp. 432-434. G. M., I, p. 501. 31.

32.

33 & 35. Peck, E. M., pp. 437, 438.

34. Chaffee, op. cit., p. 643.

G. M., I, pp. 445 ff.; Gen. Conf. Journal, II, p. 27.

37. Gen. Conf. Journal, II, p. 13.

G. M., I, pp. 470-536.

39. *Ibid*, I, pp. 470-II, 33-IV, 364 (memoir); Peck, E. M., pp. 476-480.

40. Chaffee, op. cit., p. 462.

41. G. M., I, pp. 472, 502; Gen. Conf. Journal, II, pp. 23 ff.; Peck, Life, Etc., pp. 148, 149; Peck, E. M., p. 434.

42. G. M., I, pp. 535-II, 33-IV, 628; Gen. Conf. Journal, II, p. 53; Wyo. Conf. Minutes, 1852-58; Chaffee, op. cit., p. 256.

43. G. M., I, p. 536.

Peck, Life, Etc., p. 149.

G. M., I, pp. 501-IV, 522, 610. 45.

46. Peck, E. M., pp. 439-441. 47. G. M., I, pp. 445-II, 33-IV, 631; Conf. Minutes, 1852-77, pp. 30-33 (menioir); Chaffee, op. cit., p. 246.

48. Peck, E. M., p. 441.

G. M., I, pp. 501 ff. 49.

50. Ibid, I, pp. 503-537; Gen. Conf. Journal, II, pp. 45-58.

51. Peck, Life, Etc., pp. 150 ff.; Peck,

E. M., pp. 434-436.

52. G. M,. I, pp. 535-II, 33-494-IV, 615. 53. Ibid, I, pp. 535-II, 33-394-III, 203-IV, 630; Oneida Conf. Minutes, 1868, pp. 57-59; Peck, E. M., p. 436.

54. Peck, Life, Etc., pp. 153-155.

55. G. M., I, pp. 537, 568-570; Gen. Conf. Journal, II, pp. 58-78; Peck, Life, Etc., pp. 156 ff.; Peck, E. M., pp. 511, 512.

56. G. M., II, pp. 31-33-III, 627; Oneida Conf. Minutes, 1851, pp. 10-12; Wyo. Conf. Minutes, 1852; Peck, Life, Etc., pp. 161 ff.; Bangs, op. cit., IV, p. 4.

57. G. M., II, p. 32.

58. *Ibid*, I, pp. 375-II, 31-IV, 269-644. 59. *Ibid*, I, pp. 568-II, 33-IV, 631; Gen. Conf. *Journal*, II, p. 70; Wyo. Conf. *Min*utes, 1852-1890, 81-83 (memoir); Chaffee,

op. cit., p. 174.

60. Conable, op. cit., pp. 270, 271. Chaffee, op. cit., pp. 653, 654.

Ibid, p. 608.

63. G. M., I, pp. 568-II, 33.

64. G. M., I, pp. 569-II, 33-III, 177.

65. Ibid., I, pp. 570-II, 33; Peck, Life, Etc., p. 161.

# Index

Aborigines, 3, 4	Brown, Nathan, 73, 75, 79
Agard, Horace, 211, 220, 222, 226, 228	Brown, William, 179
	Buck, Rev. David, 40
Albany, 12 Alexander family, 75	Budd, Samuel, 142
Asbury, Bishop Francis, 49, 51, 52, 68, 87-	Burch, Robert, 146, 153
89, 100, 101, 154-157, 165, 167, 172, 178,	Burdge, Michael, 195, 197
	Burgess, Benedict, 153
180, 186, 194	
Assurughney, 4, 6, 7	Burnett, Mr, 83, 86
Atlen, Ethan, 16, 32	Burney, Henry, 72 Butler, Col., John, 19, 20
Athens, 5, 9, 39	Rutler Walter 19 20
Baker, James H., 188	Butler, Walter, 18, 20 Butler, William, 153, 161
Baker, Stephen, 61, 92	Rutler Col Zobuler 19 22
Baldwin, Gideon, 72, 74, 75, 79	Butler, Col. Zebulon, 18-23
Baldwin, Stephen, 75	
Baltimore Conference, 132, 147, 153	Calvinism, Calvinists, 57, 77-79, 81, 85, 160,
Barbary, Philo, 218, 220, 223	180, 207, 226
Baptist church, Baptists, 41, 159, 169, 207	Camerhoff, Bishop, 206
Close Communion, 43, 151	Campbell, James, 65, 67, 90, 91, 106
Free Communion, 42, 43, 151	Campbell's Ledge, 2
Bascom, Bishop Henry B., 77, 177	Camptown, 72
Beach, Zerah, 19	Camp meetings, 169, 171, 197, 198, 202, 205,
Bear Creek, 2, 5, 21, 22	210, 219, 223
	Canaan, 8
Bedford, James, 85, 116 Bedford, Deborah (Mrs. James), 61, 63, 65,	Canaan circuit 157 161-165 171 174 177
66, 85, 91, 104, 107	Canaan circuit, 157, 161-165, 171, 174, 177, 179, 184, 185, 187, 190, 191, 195, 197, 202,
	209, 214, 215, 217-220, 223, 227, 229
Beech Woods, 6, 140, 150, 151	Capoose, 6, 7, 15, 85, 86
Bennett, Rufus, 20 Rennett Thomas and family 25 83 91 111	Capoose, Chief, 4
Bennett, Thomas and family, 25, 83, 91, 111	Carbondale, 230
Bennett Settlement, 215	Carey, Comfort and Huldah, 105, 106, 112
Benton, Roger, 120	
Best, David, 163	Carpenter, Benjamin, 62, 117, 145 Carpenter, Gilbert, 64, 119, 145
Bethany, 8, 159, 174, 215, 220	Carpenter's Notch 205 210
Bibbins, Elisha, 180, 191, 194, 204, 209, 211,	Carpenter's Notch, 205, 210
215, 217 Pidlack Paniamin 02 08 00 122 108	Carpenter's Point, 7
Bidlack, Benjamin, 92, 98, 99, 123, 198	Carson, Joseph, 147 Carver, Samuel, 61, 171, 183
Bidlack, Shubal, 70, 83, 96 Bidwell, Ephraim and Dircas, 151	Carverton, 63, 183
Digeless Mech 170	Castle, Joseph, 129, 218, 220, 223, 229
Bigelow, Noah, 179	Castle Mrs. Joseph 222 228
Binghamton, 5	Castle, Mrs. Joseph, 223, 228 Catlin, Putnam, 91, 142, 178
Blackwalnut Bottom, 184	Chamberlain, Wyatt, 101
Blanchard, Andrew, 97	Chambers Enhagin 127 129 132 137
Blanchard, Laban, 93	Chambers, Ephrain, 127, 129, 132, 137 Chapman, 'Squire, 157, 160
Blooming Grove, 7, 8, 15	Charles II, 11, 12
Bloomsburg, 86, 87	Cherry Ridge, 175
Bortree, Matthew, 150, 151	Chubbuck, Aaron, 197
Brant, Joseph, 18-20	Chubbuck, Nathaniel, 192, 217
Breakneck Hill, 25, 73	Church of England, 50, 52, 53
Boehm, Henry, 167, 174	Churches (buildings), 36, 83, 86, 90, 156,
Booth, Sharon, 137	178, 209
Bowen, Elias, 195, 197	Clark, Capt. Benjamin, 75-77, 138
Bowman, Christian, 106, 154	Class meetings, 63, etc.
Bowman, Thomas, 107, 154 Brandon, William, 135, 195	Clifford, 8
Brian Creek 87 107	Cloud, Robert, 65, 67, 68
Bridgewater circuit 186 188 101 104 105	
Bridgewater circuit, 186, 188, 191, 194, 195,	Cobb, Asa, 6 Cobb Mountain ("Mt. Cobb"), 7, 15, 21,
197, 199, 203, 205-208, 210, 214, 216-218, 220, 223, 227, 230	
Daisich 11 17 10 25	Cochecton 6 8 23
British, 11, 17, 19, 25	Cochecton, 6, 8, 23 Colbert, William, 68-82, 83, 87-90, 95-97,
Brooklyn, 8, 132, 148, 149, 160, 179, 182,	115-120, 137
196, 206, 222	113-140, 137

INDEX 245

French Refugees, 74

Fry, Christopher, 148

Colbert's Journal, 69, 86, etc. "Cold Summer", 195 Cole, Elisha, 76, 118, 138 Cole, Samuel, 39, 76, 95, 144 Cole, Solomon, 118 Coleman, Jeremiah, 63, 92, 117, 121 Comfort, Silas, 227, 229 Congregational Church, Congregationalists, 36-40, 42, 112, 129, 151, 159, 160, 164 Connecticut, 1 Connecticut Colony, 11-13 Connecticut Susquehanna Company, 12-14 Controversies, religious, 77, 78, 81, 84, 85, 116, 145, 160, 180, 207, 219, 226 Cook, Israel, 186, 190, 195, 197 Cook, Valentine, 69, 94, 97, 100-106, 153 Copeland, John, 220 Coryell, Vincent M., 229 Cramer family, 149, 151, 161 Cummings, Asa, 211-214, 216 Cushutunk, 6, 7

Damascus, 6, 8, 9 Dawson, Abraham, 166, 185, 206 Dean, Aaron, 119 Delaware Company, 13 Delawares, 1-3, 10, 11, 13 Delaware Water Gap, 3, 6 Dennison, Col. Nathan, 15, 19, 20, 111, 145 Denominations, 35-43, also see by names Densmore, George W., 193 Dimack, or Dimock, Solomon, or "Elder Davis" Dimack, 203,207 Dingman's Ferry, 9 Dodson, Nathan B., 194 Doolittle, Ebenezer, 193, 203, 208 Doolittle, Orrin, 208 Draper, Gideon, 153, 161, 163, 165, 174, 179 Drunken men, 74, 79 Duane, Mr. and Mrs., 104, 108, 110 Dunham, David, 126 Dunham, Johnson, 122 Dundaff, 8 Dunmore, 6 Dunn, Thomas, 141 Dutch Reformed Church, 36

Elliott, Joseph, 21 Elliott, Thomas, 163, 166 Episcopal Church, Episcopalians, 129, 226 Evans, George, 201, 220 Everett, Joseph, 126, 132 Everts, Dinaldo M., 192, 193 Ewing, Col., 23, 24

Fell, Judge, 165 Ferries, 9 Flemington, Thornton, 92, 93, 95 Forty Fort, 156, 168, 200, 201, 209 Fort Jenkins, 19 Fort Stanwix, 13, 14 Foster family, 73, 75 Franklin, Solomon, 75 French, The, 11, 13, etc. French and Indian War, 11-13

Garrettson, Freeborn, 66, 67, 120, 133 Gaylord, Major Justus, Jr., 156 Gaylord, Miles H., 227 Genesee Conference, 147, 166, 172, 174, 178, 180, 186, 193, 200, 206, 208, 213, 216, 217, 219, 222, 225, 229
George, Bishop Enoch, 217, 225, 229
George, Mr. and Mrs. William, 122, 145,

182 Gibson, 186

Gilbert, John D., 214, 215 Gilmore, James, 190, 208 Goodwin, Abram, 86, 95 Gore, Obadiah, 15, 27, 76, 156 Grant, Isaac, 195-197, 202 Grant, Loring, 171, 174, 184, 196 Great Bend, 5, 8, 9, 40, 142, 178 Griffing, John, 193, 195, 197, 204, 208, 210, 216, 218, 224 Griffith, Alfred, 148 Gruber, Jacob, 127

Hall, James, 188, 193, 194
Hamlin, 6, 7, 151, 184, 187
Hammond, Lebbeus, 21, 25
Hanover, 14, 36, 63, 83, 86, 88, 201, 209
Hanover Township, early personnel, 31 Hardesty, William, 69 Harford, 8 Harmon, George, 174, 180, 189, 190, 192 Harris, Charles, 63, 104 Harris Settlement, 183, 184 Hartly, Col., 23 Hawley, 7, 8 Hazzard, John, 188 Heckewelder, 11 Hedding, Bishop Elijah, 217, 219, 222 Herron, James, 142, 163 Hickox, Joseph, 187 Hill, John, 68 Hodge, Mr. and Mrs.\_\_\_ .\_\_, 63, 121, 145 Hodge, James, 202, 214, 216 Holley, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel, 63, 121 Honesdale, 8, 220 Howe, Morris, 146 Hunt, Aaron, 70, 83, 89, 93 Hunter, William, 165 Indian conflicts, 9-11 Inman, Elijah, 121 Inman, Richard, 20, 81, 84 Iroquois, 2-4, 10, 11, 17, 25

Jameson, John, 18 Jenkins, John 15 Jewell, Joseph, 107, 146 Johnson, Christina, 91, 92 Johnson, Rev. Jacob, 19, 39 Johnson, Walter, 18 Johnson, Sir William, 18 Judd, Gaylord, 214, 216, 217

Kendall, Caleb, 186, 202, 209, 215, 217, 218 Kendall, Robert, 186, 202, 209

Kimberlin, John, 163, 179, 180, 182 King, Elijah, 204 Kingsley boys, 23 Kingston, N. Y., 7, 14 Kingston, Pa., 115, 161, 168, 183, 200 Kingston Township, early personnel, 31 Kinkead, Joseph, 174 Knowlton, Gideon A., 135 Lackey, John, 108, 120, 121 Lane, George, 166, 183, 198, 205, 209, 211, 215, 216 Larkin, Edward, 127 Leach, John, 126 Lee, Timothy, 147 Lee, Mr. and Mrs. Vene, 187 Leggett's Gap, 7 Little Meadows, 6, 7, 15, 21 Lord's Valley, 7 Lovell, Joseph, 65 Lull, William, 217 McCurdy, Hugh, 141 McKendree, Bishop William, 170, 172, 178, 180, 186, 193, 195 McLenahan, William, 123, 126, 136 Mann, Adam, 39, 83, 86, 89 Marcy, Mrs. Zebulon, 22, 23 Material resources, 26 Mehoopany, 203, 207 Meshoppen, 96 Metcalf, Elijah, 174 Methodists, earliest American, 49 Milford, 7, 8, 9 Mill Creek, 14, 15, 84 Mills, Nathaniel B., 65 Mineer, Daniel, 75, 138, 189 Minshall, Robert, 187 Montooth, Henry, 153 Montrose, 8, 188 Moore, Hiram, 211, 214 Moore, James, 108, 123 Moravians, and Moravian Missions, 1, 26, 43-47 Morgan, Moses, 135 Morrell, Thomas, 67, 100, 101 Mount Pleasant, 8, 160 Murray, Rev. Noah, 40 Myers, Betsy, 198 Myers, Mary, 198 Myers, Philip, 95 Myers, 'Squire, 94 Nanticoke, 63, 70, 83 Nash, Charles, 231 Newburgh, 7, 8, 60 Newfoundland, 160 Newport, 99, 121, 184 New Troy, 1, 197, 201 New York, 12, 13 New York Conference, 131 Northumberland, 14, 15, 69, 86-88, 91, 92, 120, 121 Old Forge, 28

"Old Ship Zion," 128-130

Oneida Conference, 229, 231 Ouaquaga, 7, 18 Orwell, 192 Osborn, Joseph, 137 Owen, Anning, 59-62, 84, 94, 114, 132-135, 147, 153, 174, 189 Owen, Richard, 49 Paddock, Benjamin G., 190 Paine, Edward, 149, 178, 182, 196, 203, 206, 208, 209 Parish, Capt. Ebenezer, 61, 84, 86, 109 Parker, John, 229 Parks, Amos, 107 Parkus, Philetus, 217, 219, 220, 223 Parshall, Mr.\_\_\_\_, 75 Partners, Nine, 40 Paths, Indian, 5, 8 Paupack, 7, 157, 161
Paynter, James, 94, 106, 107, 147
Pearce, Marmaduke, 185, 192, 193, 195-197, 205, 208 Pearsall, Joseph, 223 Peck, Andrew, 204 Peck, George, 95, 130, 172, 196, 198-200, 202, 204, 206, 208, 209, 218, 219, 222, 224 Penn, Richard, 12 Penn, Thomas, 12 Penn, William, 10-12 Philadelphia Conference, 131, 136, 140, 146, 163, 165, 167 Pierce, Mr. and Mrs. Abel, and family, 61, Pierce, Mr. and Mrs. Timothy, and family, 110, 111, 112 Pike circuit, 192 Pioneer living conditions, 28 Pittston, 9, 14, 28, 153 Plains, (Abraham's), 4 Plains, (Jacob's), 4, 21, 132, 141 Pleasant Mount, 149, 151 Plymouth, 4, 14, 63, 84, 141, 161, 183, 190, Plymouth Colony, 11 Polhemus, James, 141 Poor, Gen., 24 Populations, 30 Poverty, 29, 71 Preston, Mark, 216-218 Presbyterian Church, Presbyterians, 35, 38, 42, 151, 169, 207, 226 Proprietors, Proprietaries, 10, 13, 15, 16 Providence, 6, 14, 63 Quail, James, 165 Quakers, 35 Queen Esther, 20, 21 Queen Esther's Flats, 5, 20, 25 Queen Esther's Rock, 21, 25 Ransom, 9 Ransom, Capt., 84 Reed, Fitch, 216, 227

Reeder family, 63, 121

Reiley, James, 163

**INDEX** 247

Religious and Moral Conditions, 33 Revolution, the American, 11, 17 Rogers, Joshua, 214, 217, 218, 220, 225, 227 Ross Hill, 61, 85, 86, 88, 109 Routes of travel, 5, 9, 75, 80, 81, 210 Rundell, William W., 215, 218 Salem, 151, 184, 202

Sayre, John, 211, 213, 214, 227, 231 Searle, Roger, 59, 132, 153 "Shades of Death," 22, 111, 115 Shawnees, 4 Sherman, Morgan, 129, 218 Shepard, David A., 224 Shepherd, James, 209 Shepherd, Samuel, 15 Sheshequin, 25, 73, 95, 118 Sheshequin, Old, 5, 73 Shoefeldt's Flats, 74, 75 Shoemaker, Elijah, 116 Shohola, 7, 9, 15, 21 Six Nations, 12, 13 Slocum, Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan, Frances,

etc., 23 Smith, Asa, 127 Smith, James, 94, 141, 146 Smith, Dr. William H., 27, 84, 85, 87 Spangenberg, Bishop Augustus, 44, 45, 48 Spaulding, Col., 23

Springville, 197, 206, 223 Stevens, David, 123 Stier, Frederick, 147 Stocking, Solon, 215, 220

Stocking, Sophronius, 208, 216-218, 223, 227 Stockport, 8

Stoddartsville, 186, 201 Stokes, James, 120 Strawbridge, Robert, 49 Stroud, Elizabeth, 143

Stroudsburg, 6, 18, 21, 143
Sturdevant, Rev. Samuel, and family, 41, 118, 154, 210
Sullivan's Army, 1

Sullivan's Expedition, 6 Sullivan, General John, 24 Sunbury, 5

Susquehanna district, 68, 140, 146, 147, 153, 163, 165, 174, 179, 180, 185, 186, 189, 190, 193, 195, 197, 205, 209, 213, 215, 217, 219, 222, 226, 229

Susquehannocks, 3, 4 Sutton, James, 27, 84, 85, 118 Sutton's Creek, 9

Swamp, Great, 2, 6, 21, 89

Tadema, 4 Tannersville, 5, 8 Taylor, Corrington E., 192 Taylor, Daniel, 121 Teedyuscung, Chief, 4, 45 Tewksbury, Jacob, 132, 141, 149 Thomas, George, 166 Thomas, James, 70, 79-81, 92, 94 Thompson, Samuel, 174, 179

Tioga, Tioga Point, 4, 5, 6, 18 Tioga circuit, 67-69, 71, 74, 79-81, 87, 93, 108, 114, 120, 122, 123, 126, 127, 132, 137, 142, 147, 153, 162, 163, 171, 174, 177, 179, 185, 188, 188, 191-195, 197, 200, 204, 208, 211, 215-217, 219, 222, 225 Tories, 15, 17 Torry, Daniel, 223, 228, 230 Towanda, 9 Towner, Joseph, 225 Townsend, Elijah, 73, 79 Traders, 5
Trenton Decree, 15, 16
Trucksville, 63, 121, 124, 201, 220
Tunkhannock, 9, 11, 96, 164
Tunkhannock, 9, 12, 96, 164 Turck, Anthony, 94, 97, 98

Ulster, 5, 9, 73, 75, 76 Universalists, 42, 77, 78, 145, 207, 219

Wadhams, Rev. Noah, and family, 112 Wadhams, Samuel, 112, 139 Wadhams, Ralph H. and Miss Stella, 139 "Walking Purchase," 10-12, 17 Wallenpaupack, 7, 23 Waller, Ashbel, 63, 83, 86, 89 Waller, Joseph, 86, 92, 121 Ware, Thomas, 68, 79-81, 113, 120 Warner, Hiram G., 194, 208, 211, 215, 217, Warren, Elijah, 188

Washington, President George, 24 Watters, William, 49, 52 Wayne, 205

Weaver, J. P., 142 Wells, Guy, 72, 77 Wentz, Peter, Jr., 230 Wesley, John, 47-53 Westmoreland, 15, 18, 30 Whigs, 17 Whitby, Joseph, 115

White, Alward, 108, 115, 117 Wilkes-Barre, 1, 9, 14, 18, 63, 81, 83, 116, 128, 129, 161, 178, 182, 201, 209, 213, 222, 225, 229

Williams, Darius, 107, 109, 113, 115, 121, 168, 198, 220

Wilson, John, 179, 182, 220, 223 Wilson, M. R. H., 115-117, 119 Wind Gap, 5, 8 Woodbridge, Maj. Theodore, 157, 161, 165

Wright, Thomas, 174 Wyalusing and Wyalusing circuit, 5, 14, 25, 72, 75, 95, 191, 194, 199, 204, 208, 211, 214, 216, 220, 224, 225, 227 231

Wyoming, definition, 1 Wyoming Battle, 77 ff.

Wyoming circuit, 65 ff., 79, 83, 86, 87, 104, 108, 114, 115, 120, 123, 132, 137, 140, 141, 146-148, 152, 161-163, 165, 171, 174, 177, 179, 180, 182, 185, 186, 190, 193, 195, 197, 200, 202, 205, 209, 215, 220, 222, 223, 227, 229

Wyoming Circuit Steward's Book, 139, 141, 142, 152, 161, 171
Wyoming conference, 163, 181, 192, 201, 214, 223, 224, 229
Wyoming "Massacre," 19-21

Wysox, 39, 73, 192 Yankee-Pennamite War, 11-17 Zinzendorf, Nicholas Lewis, Count, 43, 44 Zinzendorf and Wesley, 47, 48

# **Emendations**

Page 7. Last line, read "Oghquaga, or Oquaga" instead of "Oghquago, or Oquago." "Ouaquaga" is another spelling.

Page 20. At end of last line, read "or" instead of "of".

Page 159. Efforts to clarify the places visited by Gideon Draper along the Delaware in 1807-08 were brought to a conclusion after the text was completed. The evidence is against the assumption that either Damascus or Cochecton was involved in this errand of Mr. Draper. It is also very clear that there was no Dr. Pew, named by Dr. Peck in his "Early Methodism," p. 161. The only stone church along the river was at Shawnee, Smithfield Twp., Monroe Co. It was erected in 1752 "on the elevation in front of the De Puy homestead," where it stood until succeeded by a brick edifice about a century later. Eleven years previous to the rearing of the small stone building there had been a log church a mile or two farther north, which was one of a series of four such structures between Smithfield and Port Jervis, the other three being on the east side of the river, and all being sponsored by people of the Dutch Reformed church. Evidently the person whom Dr. Peck calls Dr. Pew was none other than one Nicholas De Puy who was living in Smithfield at the age of 67 when Mr. Draper preached in the stone church. Instead of being "Dr." it should have been written "De." Nicholas De Puy was a grandson of Nicholas De Puy, a French Huguenot who became identified with the Dutch Reformed church in America. The name appears in various forms, as Dupuis, Du Pui, de Pui, Depew, etc. (Chauncey M. Depew was a descendant of Nicholas De Puy.) In process of time the church at Shawnee became Presbyterian. Very possibly the church across the river where Mr. Draper preached was at Walpack where was located one of the four original Dutch Reformed churches. (See History of Monroe Co., Pa., by Robert Brown Keller, The Monroe Publishing Co., Stroudsburg, Pa., 1927, pp. 23-45 on the De Puy family.)

P. 170. Line 11. Read "twentieth century," rather than "nineteenth."

Page 200. Supplemental to the sketch of the life of Dr. George Peck should be the statement that after being connected successively with the Genesee, Oneida and New York conferences he became a constituent member of the Wyoming conference. Having retired in 1873, his death occurred May 20, 1876, in Scranton.

Page 231. Last full line, read "Methodism" instead of "Methodist".



# Date Due

HEW BOOK			*
(6)			*
		1	1



BX8248.P4P17
Heroism and romance; early Methodism in
Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library

1 1012 00021 0734